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INNOCENT THE GREAT

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INNOCENT THE GREAT

AN ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND TIMES

BY

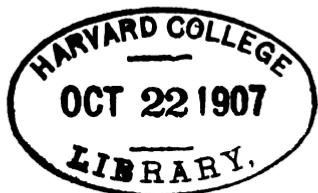
C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON, B.A.

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**PATRI
COMI ADMIRABILI:
MATRI
INDEFESSAE AMABILI:
HAS PRIMITIAS
D.D.D.
FILIUS**

Nos, Fridericus, Congr. Human. propraef.
Ord. SS. Soph. et Michael, Congr. Indic.
propraef. Ord. SS. Soph. ut in typis ex-
primatur liber appellatus *Innocent the Great*,
auctore C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, postulamus.

Conceditur

HARRICUS, Magnusmagister Ord. SS. Soph.

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AUTHOR'S STATEMENT CONCERNING AUTHORITIES

By the courtesy of THE EMINENCE OF CARDINAL RAPHAEL MERRY DEL VAL, (Cardinal-Presbyter of the Title of Santa Prassede, and Secretary of State to THE HOLINESS OF POPE PIUS THE TENTH,) of MR. A. E. COWLEY, M.A. (Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Bodley's Sublibrarian,) and of the REVEREND F. S. EHRLE, S.J., Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, Hon. Litt.D. Cambridge, (and Subprefect of the Vatican Library,) the following manuscripts of prime importance have been consulted by me for this monograph :—

1. *Codices Ottobonianiae* (Altemps) IV. 27, 433 (in the Vatican Library).
2. *Regesta Innocentij PP. III.* Tom. i, viii. (in the Vatican Archives).

As far as I have been able to discover, the documents relating to the period of Innocent the Third have been published in extenso by the Abbé Migne; and the Bulls and Epistles have been collated by Potthast in his *Regesta*. But, when I compared the mss. of the Ottoboni collection (two of which are early XIII century) in the Vatican Library, and the *Regesta* of the reign of

Innocent the Third, (contained in a series of vellum volumes, beautifully written and marginally illustrated with beasts and quaint conceits, which constitute the Official Records or duplicates of Bulls and Epistles in the Vatican Archives), with the printed writings of this pontiff as published by the Abbé Migne, who reprints Baluze's XVII century edition, there appeared to be frequent textual differences, and not a few interpolations in the print. A portion of the Altemps ms. (officially known as *Codex Ottoboniana IV*) is here interlineally compared with Migne. According to the Rev. H. M. BANNISTER, a Vatican palaeographer, this Codex dates from the first half of the XIII century, with corrections of the second half of the same. The author is unknown; and the name of the library whence the ms. came into the Altemps collection has been very carefully erased with a knife, (excepting "Libr. de San"). It is also further defaced with a XVII century script. The ms. is thought to have been stolen: is undoubtedly authentic; and is headed in red "*Incipit Liber de Sacram̄tis Ecclie a dñō Innocētio PP tertio.*" It is divided into sections, by big sub-headings written in red; but Migne's printed enumeration of these does not coincide with that of the ms. As is natural in a work of the period, abbreviations are much used: e.g. the scribe has the disconcerting habit of inserting only the initial letter of each word in quotations from Holy Writ.

Regarding printed authorities for the reign of Innocent the Third, the following represent the chief works which I have found useful.

1. *Acta Concilia* : Tom. I, pars ii.
2. Buchon : *Recherches Historiques sur la Principauté Française de Morle*.
3. Bury : *Annotated edition of Gibbon*. (See below.)
4. Ciacconius and Oldoinus : *Vitae Pontificum Romanorum & S. R. E. Cardinalium*.
5. Conybeare : *Key of Truth*. App. VI.
6. Cristofori : *Storia dei Cardinali*.
7. De Montot : *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*.
8. Devic & Vaissette : *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*.

Tom. VI. Edition 1876.

9. Gams : *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*.
10. Gibbon : *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by J. B. Bury. Tom. VI, VII.
11. Gregorovius : *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*.
12. " *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*.
13. Guldencrone : *L'Achae Feodale*.
14. Huillard-Breholles : *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, Tom. I, II.

15. Hurter: *Geschichte des Papst Innocens des Dritten und seiner Zeitgenossen*, Tom. I, II, III.
16. Labb   & Cossart: *Sacrosancta Concilia*, Tom. XI.
17. Lavis  : *Histoire de France*.
18. Lavis   & Rambaud: *Histoire G  n  rale*, Tom. II.
19. Luchaire: *Les premiers Cap  tiens*, (1883)
20. " *L'Universit   de Paris sous Philippe Auguste*, (1899).
21. " *Les Registres d'Innocent III*, (1904).
22. " *Innocent III, Rome & l'Italie*, (1905).
23. " *Innocent III, La Croisade des Albigeois*, (1905).
24. " *Innocent III, La Papaut   & l'Empire*, (1906).
25. Marangoni: *Chronologia Romanorum Pontificum*.
26. Michaud: *Histoire des Croisades*.
27. Migne: *Patrologia Latina*, Tom. 214-218.
28. Muratori & Baluze: *Script. Rer. Ital.* (Gesta Innocentij III) Tom. III.
29. Potthast: *Regesta*, Tom. I.
30. Rodd: *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicle of the Morea*.
31. Rolls Series: *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*.
32. Rymer: *Foedera*, Tom. I.
33. Sismondi: *Histoire des Fran  ais*.
34. Stokvis: *Manuel de Genealogie*.
35. Stubbs: *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*.
36. Theiner: *Codex Diplomaticus Domini Temporalis Sanctae Sedis*. Tom. I.
37. Tout: Art. on *Pandulf*. in *Dic. Nat. Biog.*

I wish to express my thanks to the Professor of History at the Owens College, Victoria University, Manchester, (T. F. TOUT, M.A., formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford,) for his kind suggestions; and to the Reader in Diplomatic at Oxford, (R. L. POOLE, M.A., Ph.D., Fellow of Magdalen College) for much good advice.

I have only to add that, in the matter of assigning capital letters to the pontifical pronouns, I

xivii AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

have followed the traditional usage, now happily reviving. Names of foreigners are given, as far as possible, in the forms which were actually used : excepting in the cases of the more renowned among them, who are better known under the English equivalents.

C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON.

OXFORD, *Saint Peter's Day* 1907.

PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY PRINCES AND PRELATES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

THE WESTERN EMPIRE

	<i>Succ. as King.</i>	<i>Crowned as Emp.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Frederick I Barbarossa	1152	1155	1190
Henry VI	1190	1191	1197
Otto III ¹	1201 ¹	1200	1218
Philip II	1198	—	1208
Frederick II Stupor Mundi	1197	1220	1250
<hr/>			
BOHEMIA. <i>Jupans.</i>	<i>Succ. as King.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	
Frederick	1179	1189	
Konrad-Otto	1189	1191	
Waclaw II	1191	1192	
<hr/>			
<i>Kings.</i>			
Premysl Ottokar I	1192	1193	
Bretislaw Jindrich	1193	1197	
Wladislaw III Jindrich	1197		
Premysl Ottokar I (rest.)	1197	1230	
<hr/>			
AUSTRIA. <i>Dukes.</i>	<i>House of Babenberg.</i>		
Leopold V	1177	1194	
Frederick I	1194	1198	
Leopold VI	1198	1230	
<hr/>			
BAVARIA. <i>Dukes.</i>	<i>House of Wittelsbach</i>		
Otto I	1180	1183	
Ludwig I	1183	1231	
<hr/>			
SWABIA. <i>Dukes.</i>	<i>House of Hohenstaufen.</i>		
Frederick V	1167	1191	
Konrad II	1191	1196	
Philip	1196	1208	
(Emp.) Frederick VI	1208	1216	

¹ Date of Papal recognition : he was "elected" in May 1198.

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SAXONY. *Dukes.*

Bernard III	1180	1212
Albert I	1212	1260

LORRAINE. *Dukes.*

Simon II	1176	1205
Frederick I	1205	1206
Frederick II	1206	1213
Dietbald I	1213	1220

EASTERN EMPIRE.

GREEK BASILEIS OF BYZANTION.

Alexios II Komnenos	1180	1183
Andronikos II Komnenos	1183	1185
Isaak II Angelos	1185	1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195	1203
{ Isaak II Angelos (rest.) }		
{ Alexios III Angelos }	1203	1204
Alexios V Dukas. "Murtzouphlos"		1204
Theodoros I Laskaris (at Nikaia)	1204	1222

GREEK BASILEUS OF TREBIZONDE.

Alexios I Komnenos	1204	1222
--------------------	------	------

GREEK DESPOTS OF EPIROS.

Mikhael I Angelos	1204	1214
Theodoros Angelos	1214	1230

LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (ROMANIA).

Baldwin I (viii as Count of Flanders)	1204	1205
Henry	1206	1216

LATIN KINGS OF THESSALONIKA.

Boniface (Marquess of Montferrat)	1204	1207
Demetrios I	1207	1222

FEUDAL LORD (MEGASKYROS) OF ATHENS.

Othon de la Roche	1205	1225
-------------------	------	------

FEUDAL PRINCES OF AKHAIAS.

William I de Champlitte	1205	1209
Geoffrey I de Villehardouin	1209	1218

FEUDAL DUKE OF NAXOS.

Marco I Sanudo	1207	1227
----------------	------	------

PRINCES AND PRELATES xvii

ADMIRALS (MEGADUX) OF LEMNOS.

Filocalo Navigajoso	1207	1214
Lionardo	1214	1260

THE BALKANS.

SERVIA. *Grand Zupans.*

Stefan Nemanya	1186	1195
Stefan Vencian Prvovencani		
Nemanyic I	1195	1224
BULGARIA. <i>Kings.</i>	<i>Succ. as King.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Iovan Asen I	1186	1196
Petar II	1196	1197
Ioannike-Kaloyan (Kalojohannes)	1197	1207
Boril	1207	1218
BOSNIA. <i>Bans.</i>		
Kulin	1180	1204
Stefan I	1204	1232

ENGLAND.

<i>Kings.</i>	<i>House of Plantagenet.</i>	
Henry II Fitzempress	1154	1189
Richard I Lionheart	1189	1199
John Softsword	1199	1215
<i>NORTH WALES. Princes.</i>		
Dafydd I ap Owain	1171	1194
Llewelyn II ap Iorwerth	1194	1240

SCOTLAND.

<i>Kings.</i>		
William the Lyon	1165	1214
Alexander II	1214	1249

FRANCE.

<i>King.</i>		
Philip II the August	1180	1223
<i>BRITTANY. Dukes.</i>		
Constance	1186	1196
Arthur	1196	1203
Guy de Thouars	1203	1213
Peter I Mauclerc	1213	1237 b

xviii PRINCES AND PRELATES

BURGUNDY. *Dukes.*

Hugh III	1162	1192
Eudes III	1192	1218

CHAMPAGNE. *Counts.*

Henry II	1181	1197
Thibaut III	1197	1201
Thibaut IIII	1201	1253

PROVENCE. *Counts.*

Alfonso II	1185	1209
Raymond Berenger IIII	1209	1245

TOULOUSE. *Counts.*

Raymond V	1148	1194
Alfonso II		1194
Raymond VI	1194	1222

Simon de Montfort received investiture from the King of France x Apr. 1216, after holding the county by right of conquest and papal permission since 1213.

SCANDINAVIAN STATES.

NORWAY. *Kings.*

Sverri	1177	1202
(Three Usurpations 1185, 1202)		
Haakon IIII	1202	1204
Guthorm	1204	1205
Inge II	1205	1207
(Two Usurpations 1205, 1208)		

DENMARK. *Kings.*

	<i>Succ. as King.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
Knut VI	1182	1202
Waldemar II	1202	1241

SWEDEN. *Kings.*

Knut I	1167	1196
Sverker II	1196	1208
Erik X	1208	1216

HUNGARY.

<i>Kings.</i>		
Bela III	1174	1196
Imre	1196	1204
Laslo III	1204	1205
Endre II	1205	1235

POLAND.

Kings.

Kasimir II	1177	1200
Mscislaw III	1200	1201
Leszek II		1201
Mscislaw III (rest.)	1201	1202
Wladtslaw III	1202	1206
Leszek II (rest.)	1206	1227

THE EAST.

ARMENIA. Kings.

Rhupen III	1175	1185
Levon II	1185	1219

CYPRUS. Kings.

	<i>House of Lusignan.</i>	
Guy I	1192	1194 (Jerusalem)
Amaury I	1195	1205 (Jerusalem)
Hugh I	1205	1218

JERUSALEM. Kings.

Guy I de Lusignan	1186	1192 (Cyprus)
Konrad de Montferrat	1191	1192
Henry de Champagne	1192	1197
Amaury II de Lusignan	1198	1205 (Cyprus)
Isabelle d'Anjou	1205	1208
Marie de Montfort	1208	1210
Jean de Brienne	1210	1225

ANTIOCH. Princes.

Bohemond III	1163	1201
Bohemond IIII	1201	1205 (Tripoli)
Raymond II Rupin	1205	1208
Bohemond IIII (rest.)	1208	1216
Raymond II Rupin (rest.)	1216	1219

TRIPOLI. Counts.

Raymond III	1187	1200
Bohemond I (III of Antioch)	1200	1233

THE SARACENS.

Malek en Nasr I Salah ed din		
Abu l'Modhaffer Yusuf (Saladin)	1173	1193
Malek el Afdhal Nur ed din		
Ali (Nureddin)	1193	1198

xx PRINCES AND PRELATES

Malek el Adel Seif ed din		
Abubekr Muhammed		
(Saphadin)	1198	1218

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA.

ARAGON. *Kings.*

Alfonso II	1162	1196
Peyre II	1196	1213
Jayme I	1213	1276

CASTILE. *Kings.*

Alfonso VIII	1158	1214
Enrique I	1214	1217

LEON. *Kings.*

Fernando II	1157	1188
Alfonso VIII	1188	1229 (Castile 1217-1229)

NAVARRE. *Kings.*

Sancho VI	1150	1194
Sancho VII	1194	1234

PORtUGAL. *Kings.*

Sancho I	1185	1211
Affonso II	1211	1223

ITALY.

THE HOLY SEE.

Alexander P.M. III	1159	1181
Lucius P.M. III	1181	1185
Urban P.M. III	1185	1187
Gregory P.M. VIII		1187
Clement P.M. III	1187	1191
Celestine P.M. III	1191	1198
Innocent P.M. III	1198	1216
Honorius P.M. III	1216	1227

SICILY. *Kings.*

William II	1166	1189
Tancred	1189	1194
(Roger II	1191	1193)
William III	1194	1195

SICILY. *Kings.*

{ Constance	1195	1198}
\ Henry, Emperor	1195	1197}
Frederick II, Emperor	1198	1250

VENICE. *Doges.*

Orio Malipiero	1178	1192
Enrico Dandolo	1192	1205
Pietro Ziani	1205	1229

SAVOY. *Counts.*

Umberto III	1149	1188
Tommaso I	1188	1233

MONTFERRAT. *Marquesses.*

Conrad	1183	1192	K. of Jerusalem
Boniface	1192	1207	K. of Thes- salonika
William III	1207	1225	

SPOLETO. *Dukes.*

Konrad von Urslingen	1183	1190
Pandolfo II	1190	1195
Konrad von Urslingen (rest.)	1195	1198
Papal Domination	1198	1222

ANCONA AND THE MARCHES. *Marquesses.*

Gotibald	1191	1195
Markwald von Anweiler	1195	1198
(Papal Domination	1198	1208)
Azzo VI d'Este	1208 ²	

TUSCANY.

Heinrich Testa	1190	1193
Konrad von Lutzelhard	1193	1195
Philip of Swabia	1195	1208

FERRARA.

Salinguerra I Torelli	1206	1208
Azzo VI d'Este	1205	1209
Salinguerra I Torelli (rest.)		1209
Azzo VI d'Este (rest.)	1209	1212

² He did not get the Brief of Grant in *Rectum Feudum* till May 1210.

xxii PRINCES AND PRELATES

Aldobrandino I d'Este	1212	1215
Azzo VII d'Este	1215	1222
And again	1240	1264

GRANDMASTERS OF THE GREAT ORDERS.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

Gilbert Horal	1196	1201
Philippe de Plaissiez	1201	1210
Guillaume de Chartres	1210	1219

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN.

Geoffrey Lerat	1195	1207
Guerin de Montaigu	1207	1230

THE TEUTONIC ORDER.

Heinrich Waldbot von Bassenheim	1195	1200
Otto Von Kerpen	1200	1206
Herman Bartt	1206	1210
Herman von Salza	1210	1239

KNIGHTS OF CHRIST, OR OF THE SWORD.

Winno von Rohrbach	1202	1209
Volkwin von Winterstadt	1209	1236

SANTIAGO.

Gonzalo Rodriguez	1195	1203
Gonzalo Ordonez	1203	1204
Suero Rodriguez	1204	1205
Sancho Rodriguez	1205	1206
Pedro-Fernandez de Marafion	1206	1210
Pedro Arias	1210	1213
Pedro Gonzalez		1213
Garcia Gonzalez de Candiamo	1213	1224

SAN JULIAN DEL PEREIRO (ALCANTARA).

Gomez Fernandez	1183	1200
Benito Suarez	1200	1208
Nuno Fernandez	1208	1219

CALATRAVA.

Nuña Perez de Quiñoñes	1182	1198
Martin Martinez	1198	1206
Rodrigo Diaz	1206	1212
Rodrigo Garcias	1212	1216

PRELATES.

Patriarchs of Constantinople.

<i>Orthodox.</i>		<i>Latin.</i>
Georgios II		
Xiphilin	1193	1199
Ioannes X		
Kamtera	1199	1206
Mikhael III		
Autorien	1206	1215
Theodoros	1215	
Mamixos II	1215	1216
Manuel I	1216	1221
Thomas Moro-		
sini		1204
sedes vacat		1211
Gervais		1215
		1225

Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

Monaco	1194	1203
Albert II	1203	1214
Rudolf	1214	1216
Lothairo	1216	1224

Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch.

Theodoros III	1185	1199
Ioachinos I	1199	1219

Latin Patriarchs of Antioch.

Peter I of Capua	1198	1208
Peter II of Capua	1208	1219

Archbishops of Canterbury.

Hubert Walter	1193	1205	
Stephen Langton	1207	1228	Sub-prior Reginald and John de Grey, Bp. of Norwich, dispute See.

Archbishops of Mainz.

Konrad I von Wittelsbach	1183	1200
Leopold von Schönfeld	1200	1208 (Ghibelline)
Siegfried II von Eppstein	1200	1208 (Guelf)

Archbishops of Trier.

Johann I	1190	1212
Dietrich II von Wied	1212	1242

xxiiii PRINCES AND PRELATES

ARCHBISHOPS OF KÖLN.

Adolf I von Altena ⁸	1193	1205
Bruno III von Sayn	1205	1208
Dietrich I von Heimsberg	1208	1212
(sedes vacat)	1212	1216)
St. Engelbert I von Berg	1216	1225

⁸ Adolf I was deposed by Innocent the Third in 1205.

INNOCENT THE GREAT

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING THE PERIOD OF INNOCENT THE THIRD

Europe—Italy—Capets—Angevins—Iberian Peninsula—Spain—The Empire—The Pontificate—Hohenstauffen—Balkan Peninsula—Slovene States—Hungary—Russia—Lithuania—Bohemia—Poland—Knights of Christ—Scandinavia—Unrest—Dynastic principle—Principle of nationality—Cause of unrest—The Military orders—The last Crusader—Lothario de' Conti—The Papacy's dangers—Pontifical policy—Turbulent Rome—The Pope's position

EUROPE, at the end of the Twelfth Century, was still new to the later Middle Ages. The period of Chaos was passed: but the period of coalescent atoms was still passing. The era of the dynasties had only just dawned in Italy. Amid a crowd of competitors, the great houses of the West had succeeded in building up nations over which they might rule, by whose strength they might exist, with whose taxes they might wage war. They had just become conscious of power. The Capets, helped by their geographical position, had definitely found their place in Europe. The Angevins were unwilling to become wholly in-

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sular: because they always had considered their royal island as a mere appendage to their continental duchies. It is true that the kings of the Peninsula as yet were not vitally concerned with dynastic problems. Their task was to contrive a continuous existence: for the Moors were still at Cordova, Lisbon looked across Tagus into Moorish territory, and Aragon stopped short near Ebro. Until this time, the tendency of Spain had been to localize: but the unity (when Spain was all Navarre) was certainly reviving, for Leon had sunk from the pride of parental independence to belong in secundogeniture to the royal house of its daughter Castile. The Empire was practically accepted at its own valuation; and the Pope had less power in Rome than out of it. His temporal pretensions, as always, were fairly comprehensive. His actual possessions, however, were somewhat meagre. The Hohenstauffen were undecided whether they should be wholly German or wholly Sicilian—they would have been admirable as either; and, naturally, they could not but fail as both. The Byzantines still shielded the Balkan Peninsula from Islam—the Byzantines whose value never was appreciated properly, until treacherous crusaders (ring-led by scheming Venice) destroyed the great bulwark of Christendom, and miserably failed to erect anything in its place. A variety of Slovener states lay along the Danube and in the uplands

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from Dalmatia, as eager for recognition and notoriety as their geographical successors of the Twentieth Century. The Magyars had their own kingdom, and were by way of being an outpost of Christendom eastward: for beyond them, Russia (scarcely even Orthodox) was wedged between a Lithuania, still hideously heathen to the north-west, and sundry Tartar tribes professing a limited form of Islam to the south-east. In the north, Bohemia had a native dynasty; and a small Poland existed between Germany and the Military Mission of the "Knights of Christ" or "of the Sword" in Prussia and Livonia. Scandinavia was suffering from the reaction which stifled her energies after the great part played by her people in Europe in the previous centuries. Sweden's energies revived three hundred years later: while our own eyes have seen the awakening of Norway.

The characteristic note of this period was unrest. Christianity was only just beginning to be really secure from Saracens, Norse, Vandals, Goths, Huns, and other Tartars: although it was to incur considerable danger through the foolishness of its professors at no distant time. The dynasties, having collected and consolidated their adherents, were about to begin to weave the webs of self-aggrandisement: which kept the peace of the world disturbed, until the principle of nationality succeeded that of dynastic interest as mischief-maker.

The unrest was caused by the somewhat critical position in which the affairs of Christendom stood. The Crusades had won the East: but the quarrels of the princes had lost it again; and Spain in the West was not yet conquered. A variety of exotic Christian states still lingered in the Levant —a castle here, an island there, and half a province somewhere else: but these were a source of weakness rather than of strength. The old crusading spirit was gone: the time when men esteemed it God-service to fight the Muslim Infidel was passing; and the new spirit of commercialism was growing so rapidly, that in 1204 it twisted a whole crusade to its own ends. The Church's power, of commanding wholesale and absolute obedience in secular matters, was in abeyance. Unless all the great princes would take the Cross, no one prince would: for the increasing complications of the new dynastic policy, which was beginning to be the fashion, made it absurd for any sovereign to be absent from his realm while his near neighbours stayed at home. The great Orders of the Hospital and of the Temple, the Teutonic Order, the Spanish Orders of Santiago, of Alcantara, of Calatrava, the Knights of the Sword or Brethren of the Militia of Christ, still to some extent kept alive the real crusading spirit on the Baltic: but even they were beginning to be rich, and to quarrel and fight with Christians, instead of

devoting undivided energy to the extirpation of Infidels. Protective and commercial motives caused the idea of the Crusades to persist; but the ideal had perished with the last crusader (except St. Louis who lived out of his time) who fought the Saracen for the good of his soul and the saving of the Sepulchre—King Richard Lionheart, who (despite what moderns may urge against him) was a real and true crusader.

Such, then, in brief, was the period in which Lothario de' Conti di Segni, cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, arose to be the central figure as Supreme Pontiff, Maker and Unmaker of emperors, and Warden of Sicily: Who, as "*Pater Principum ac Regum*," interfered more with princes and kings of Europe and their national and private affairs than any of His predecessors on Peter's throne: Who transformed a Bull of Excommunication from being the last whimper of an outraged sect to the rank of the most lethal weapon in European politics.

If the times were critical for Christendom because of external pressure and internal dissensions, they were at least as difficult for the Papacy. The Patrimony of Peter, from its geographical position, would be endangered by the existence of any more powerful state either in the north of Italy or in the south. When the Emperor's kingdom of Italy wished to expand, its first prey was the temporal dominion of the Holy

See. When the kingdom of Sicily (called *par excellence* "Il Regno" in later Italian history) desired new provinces, its only neighbour was the Pope.

While different rulers controlled the two ends of the Peninsula, the temporal power of the Papacy could only continue to exist by deftly playing off one neighbour against the other, or by judiciously holding the balance between the two. When, however, the Roman Emperor happened also to be King of Sicily, the Patrimony indeed was in a parlous plight: for what could be more natural than that the Emperor should desire to give his diplarchy territorial continuity; and, were he able to do so, what would be the fate of the Papacy? However successful may be the modern solution of this problem, it is open to question whether the mediaeval Papacy could have succeeded without temporal power. A Rector Mundi who was only Pontifex Maximus and not Princeps as well, would have been likely to lapse into the honourable but inconsiderable position of a patriarch or an exaggerated bishop. There is ample evidence of the truth of this to be drawn from the history and status of the Holy See during the "Babylonian Captivity." The pontifical policy, therefore, was to keep The Empire and The Kingdom not only territorially apart, but also politically separate and even hostile. Again, the Pope's position in the Eternal City

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was constantly dangerous, and a perpetual source of trouble and disquiet. On the same erroneous (but popular) principle, which accords no honour to a prophet in his own country, no Pope was considered worthy to be obeyed in Rome. The turbulence of The City at this time is almost incredible: its entire disregard of authority in any form would be remarkable at any period; and the ease and rapidity, with which the fortunes of factions changed within its walls, can perhaps only be paralleled in the history of Greek colonial commonwealths. The normal condition of The City seems to have alternated between uproar and civil war, producing kaleidoscopic political and constitutional changes, and seasons of repentance and reaction, which served as intervals for recuperation and breathing-space preliminary to fresh outbursts of violence. Such was the city from which Innocent the Third began to rule the world. It is true that He managed to ameliorate its condition to some extent: but though His policy and calculated opportunities made Him an arbitrator, peacemaker, and matchmaker of Europe, feudal suzerain of The Empire and The Kingdom, of England, and of Aragon—and though He (first of Popes) was able to establish a genuine Latin patriarchate in Constantinople—even He had to be content with a very much smaller measure of obedience from Rome than that which He exacted from princes and prelates beyond the Seven Hills.

From His very position a Pope was much more helpless in Rome than He was in Christendom. A mere heresy in Languedoc could be suppressed by bulls of confiscation, by grants of its lands to neighbouring princes. A riot in Rome could not be quelled in this way: the Pope could not then summon external aid to maintain Him in the mastery of His diocesan city. At least He did not. Innocent the Third might order King Philip the August and his vassals to annihilate Albigenses in France: but He could not ask for French troops to defend Rome against Italians, as Napoleon the Third did for Pius the Ninth. And He could not, on the other hand, relinquish irritating and fruitless struggles at His doors, and rule the world from untroubled quietude, as did Leo the Thirteenth.

In reviewing the policy of a Pope of the Twelfth Century it is well to remember that He dwelt amid alarums and excursions, ready at the shortest notice to fly for His life, to crown an emperor among the usual scenes of carnage and massacre, or to deal with a hostile army of foreigners from the impregnable fortress of Sant' angelo. That the Lord Innocent was never hampered by the existence of an antipope is perhaps due, not so much to the forbearance or imbecility of His enemies, as to His Own personal force of character. Indeed, now that the lapse of seven centuries has enabled us to place

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Cardinal Lothario in something like his proper focus, it would be safe to say that, had he himself been elected pseudopaparch in opposition to some lawful holder of the Apostolic See, within six months the positions would have been reversed, and Christendom enthusiastically would have acclaimed him as a true successor of Saint Peter.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING LOTHARIO DE' CONTI DI SEGNI

The House of Conti di Segni—Birth of Lothario, 1158 or 1160—Lateran school—Paris University—Pierre de Corbeil—Lothario's studies—Canon Law—Preaching—University of Bologna—Jurisprudence—Master of Arts—Pilgrimage to Canterbury—A human Pope—Digestive period—Youthful literary work—Subdiaconate—1187, Cardinal-diaconate—Church restoration—1191—“De Contemptu Mundi”—1193—1197—The Conclave—1198, Supreme Pontificate—Scrutiny—Accession—Portents—Priesthood—Episcopate—Coronation—Enthronement—Innocent preaches at His Own Consecration

In order definitely to establish the genealogy of the House of Conti, it would be necessary to examine so many theories dealt with in so many mss. and printed books, to hunt down and expose so many invalid traditions, to strip off so many husks of fable from the kernel of truth, that a large folio in nonpareil barely would suffice for the record of so fascinating (and fruitless) an exercise. It will be better at once to confess that the questions whether Innocent the Third descended from the Lombard Faroald, Duke of Spoleto A.D. 575-591, or whether He sprang from the House of Tusculum to share distinction (or disgrace) with Colonna, are positively and unreservedly left open. The accompanying

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pedigree of Cardinal Lothario's more immediate kin perhaps will suffice for the present purpose.

Trasimondo, Lord of Ferentino, was probably a nephew of that Cardinal "Saxo de Comitibus" who died in 1137. Their respective dates render this hypothesis plausible, and it should be noted that (according to Ciacconius) they both bore the chequy eagle of Conti. Trasimondo was the father of six sons. The eldest (also Trasimondo, Count of Segni) married Claricia, sister of Cardinal Paolo, of the senatorial House of Scotti, who afterwards became Pope Clement the Third. From this marriage sprang four children, of whom Lothario (born 1158 or 1160) was the youngest. We know little or nothing of his early years: but it is not unfair to assume that, like other young Romans of his quality, he received the rudiments of his education at the school of Saint John Lateran. The influence of the cardinals of his family, his uncles Paolo de' Scotti, Giovanni de' Conti, and Ottaviano de' Poli,⁴ procured him a few benefices in Rome and Anagni: which, as Ciacconius says, no doubt assisted the boy in his education. He seems to have preserved agreeable memories of one of his tutors at Lateran, Pietro Hismael, whom he preconised Bishop of Sutri on his own accession to the pontificate.

⁴ Palatius calls him "Pape affinis." He does *not* bear the arms of Conti; and he may have been the brother of the wife of Andrea de' Conti.

Paris was his university—at that time the premier seat of learning in Christendom, only Bologna venturing to dispute its otherwise unquestioned primacy, and then in canon law alone. The University of Paris was, in the full intention of the word, a university. It was international, supernational, and even (in virtue of its wide privileges) largely extranational. That it was not to be esteemed French, or even a part of France, is shown by the oft-recurring fact that popes, princes, and private persons were content to use it for a court of arbitration—a custom which lasted long after its unchallenged supremacy in the republic of letters had passed to Oxford.⁴ The University of Paris, in fact, was regarded as a court of final appeal in all matters theological, moral, and political. Thus we find King Henry Fitzempress offering to submit the question of his differences with Archbishop Thomas (Beket) to the decision of the University of Paris as being above nationality or party. Even the Roman Curia acknowledged that, in Paris, were gathered the principal theologians of the Church—and, what Rome was pleased to acknowledge in the Twelfth Century, Avignon and the Popes of the Great Schism were glad to rely upon in the Fourteenth. Paris, therefore, was a most suitable scene for the

⁴ Which Giordano Bruno was pleased to call “La vedova de buone lettere.”

training of a young man destined for a career in a Church Whose boast is that She knows no nationality (excepting, of course, in the case of candidates for the pontifical throne). Prelates of rank were pleased to be professors of Paris as well. Bishop Gilbert de la Poirée became a lecturer there: so also did Pierre Comestor, the Eater of Books, Chancellor of the cathedral of Paris. Mathieu of Angers and Melchior of Pisa were raised to the purple: Gerard de la Pucelle and Anselme became respectively Bishops of Coventry and Meaux, without separating themselves from the University.

It was to Pierre de Corbeil that Lothario de' Conti owed his subsequently high reputation as a canonist, but as a canonist of broad mind and luminous ideas. Nor was Innocent the Third tardy in acknowledging the obligations thus incurred. His old instructor was made prebendary of York, then Bishop of Cambray, and soon afterwards was promoted, almost against his will, to the archiepiscopal see of Sens. Insomuch did the old man protest against advancement, that when (having neglected pontifical orders to proceed against a noble who made light of his new dignity) the Pope charged him with ingratitude, cynically remarking to his former tutor, "Ego te episcopavi," Pierre de Corbeil, like a true successor of Diogenes, quashed further discussion by replying, "Et ego Te papavi." Nor did Innocent forget

His fellow-students: to some (whose merit deserved it) He gave a seat in the Sacred College —as to Robert Curson : to others, sees : to others, mitred abbacies.

Lothario's studies were almost entirely patristic and rhetorical. Besides canon law and the Fathers, he was taught the art of composing and delivering sermons—discourses which are notable, not only for the comparative excellence of their Latinity, but for their erudition and high moral teaching. Some facility in prose composition was also acquired: but it was more as a writer of sermons for vocal delivery than as the author of treatises that Lothario shines as a stylist. His writings are too cramped with detail, too elaborated with texts, too tinged by a melancholy temperament: but his sermons, even to read, are stirring—how much more so when declaimed from the pulpit by a Pope! From Paris, in pursuit of further learning, Lothario proceeded to the University of Bologna, at that time very celebrated for its school of jurisprudence; and when, at length, he returned to Rome, he brought with him the degree of Master of Arts, and a very distinguished reputation for scholarship and force of character.

In addition to his studies in the history of the Church which he was to rule, Lothario had had the unique advantage of living quite close (both in time and place) to one of the most famous chapters of that history. Only a few years before

he went to Paris, there had been unrolled before an astounded (and afterward terror-stricken) Europe, the whole of the Beket controversy, with its rapid swordplay of spiritualities against temporalities, the bitter grinding of two iron wills, and the final tragedy of sacrilege and martyrdom, which won far more for the Church than could have been obtained by twenty vigorous years of archiepiscopate. While still an undergraduate at Paris, Lothario had made a pilgrimage to the new shrine of the new Saint Thomas in Canterbury Cathedral. So much the historian may record. What he cannot write down among his historical facts are the impressions, quite indubitably formative, perdurable, and even directive, which this really momentous pilgrimage must have had upon the plastic mind of the future Pope.

One of the things which make Innocent the Third an interesting figure, not only to the historian, but also to the thoughtful student of his kind, is His humanity. He is not, as many Popes of the Middle Ages are, a mere clarion call, a mere piece of pageant, or a merely misty schoolman. There are many gaps in His history which we cannot fill: but at least we have evidence to show that He was a man of like passions with ourselves; and therefore near, and understandable—liked perhaps, loathed perhaps, but understandable.

He returned to Rome after the usual course of years engaged in accumulating facts; and im-

mediately, like many another graduate, suffered much during the inevitable digestive period of mental growth. He became a prey to a form of melancholy exaltation—a state of ferment caused by reviewing the world, the flesh, and the devil from his newly-attained theoretic standpoint. While he was in this condition, he (in common with many young religious writers, who have undergone a long imprisonment alone with ideas) indulged in gruesome excesses of descriptive writing, which (by their grisly intensity and the unnecessary minuteness of their detail) clearly show that (having knowledge in profusion) he lacked experience. It was extremely natural that a young man, fermenting with the unassimilated learning of Paris and Bologna, should try to persuade, first himself by meditation, and afterwards others by verbose tractates, that true salvation and the way to it were to be found in morbid contemplation of death and the processes of the phenomenon of putrescence. It was certainly as well for himself as for the subsequent history of the paparchy, that Gregory the Eighth saw fit to separate him definitely from the world, by calling him to the subdiaconate and active work of the Church : for, by this means, a term was placed upon the extraspective broodings which one sees reflected in the pages of *De Contemptu Mundi*—broodings which might so easily have become introspective, and have led him inevitably to a hermit's cell :

whereby the Church might have been richer in possessing an obscure misanthropic and socially unpleasing saint, but the apostolic throne would certainly have lacked one of its brightest ornaments, and Christendom the whole-hearted service of a mighty intellect.

Shortly after the accession of his maternal uncle as Pope, under the name of Clement the Third, in 1187, Lothario was raised to the cardinal-diaconate and attached to the urban church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. Of his service in his cardinalature, as well as in a canonry of Saint Peter's-by-the-Vatican which seems to have been conferred upon him, there are not many records — a few signatures as witness, a few letters to canons: but we are told that his curial activities were considerable. In his capacity of what two centuries later would have been called "Cardinal-Nephew," one of his first works was to restore the battered fabric of his titular church. "He restored, at his own expense, the aforesaid church, which was so shapeless and ruinous that it resembled rather a crypt than a basilica."⁶ Clement the Third died in 1191, and was succeeded by Cardinal Bubo Orsini, who imposed upon himself the name of Celestine the Third. During this reign Lothario's energies were no longer employed

⁶ *Gesta, c. 3.* "Prefatam ecclesiam que nimis erat deformis et ruinosa ut magis crypta quam basilica videretur suis sumptibus restauravit."

at the Lateran : he and his family being eclipsed by the relatives and adherents of the new Pope ; and thus he was enabled to enjoy considerable leisure, which he employed variously, partly at Segni, partly at Anagni, finishing *De Contemptu Mundi*. That he was not definitely banished from Rome, is shown by the fact that he witnessed two Bulls of the Lord Celestine—*In eminenti Apostolice sedis*, xxix Sept. 1193, and *Religiosam vitam*, iiiii Nov. 1197, both given in the *Bullarium Magnum* ; and he certainly was able to keep sufficiently in the public eye to be accounted a “papabile” for the next conclave—“As he grew in age, so also did he in probity before God and all the people, and all expected and hoped for his elevation.”⁷ Nor was Rome disappointed of its hoped-for sensation. At the conclave of twenty-eight cardinals,⁸ which was immured at the monastery of Septa Solis Clivisauri, the Sacred College set aside the strange recommendation of the dying Orsini Pontiff, of Giovanni de’ Colonna ; and elected its twenty-sixth member to the see of Saint Peter.

This election was most dramatic. It was regarded as distinctly sanctispiritual in inspiration, and quite unworldly, even unconclavial, in its total freedom from party bitterness and the usual meannesses of interest and influence, tricks of

⁷ *Gesta*, c. 3. “Proficiebat autem sicut aetate sic etiam probitate coram Deo et omni populo ita ut omnes de ipsius sublimatione presumerent et sperarent.”

⁸ Cf. Appendix I.

canvassing, and long-drawn scrutinies. It seems that two other cardinals—Giordano da Ceccano, presbyter of the Title of S. Pudentiana—of whom Palatius (quoted by Hürter) says, *Prensavit pontificatum sed frusta*,—and Giovanni da Salerno, presbyter of the Title of S. Stephanus *in Monte Caelio*—who (says Raynaldus⁹) obtained ten votes—joined Giovanni de' Colonna, presbyter of the Title of S. Prisca, in acceding with their suffrages to the young Cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus.

A dove is said to have settled upon the coach of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti while driving from Imola in 1846 to take the name of Pius the Ninth in Rome; and an equally felicitous tradition asserts that three of these birds hovered above Lothario de' Conti during the conclave, and that the whitest of them descended upon his head at the moment of His election, viii Jan. 1198. Being only in deacon's orders, He was ordained priest on xxii Feb., and consecrated bishop by the Cardinal-bishops of Albano, Porto, and Ostia on the following day, when He also received the pontifical crown, and took possession of His cathedral church of Lateran. It is quite worth noting, as a token of the extraordinary vigour of mind, no less than of the delightful unconventionality of the Lord Innocent's character, that, between the date of His election and His ordina-

⁹ Ann. 1201; No. 25.

tion, He composed and elaborated sermons explaining His Own conceptions of His dignity—sermons which He actually preached at His Own ordination and consecration. The last, *In consecratione Romani pontificis*, contains so much matter of surprizing excellence, that one ventures to subjoin a translation in an appendix.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. Appendix IIII.

CHAPTER III

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND THE EMPIRE

1198, Papacy and Empire—Papacy and Empire—Empire and Papacy—Peter *versus* Caesar—Papal claim to Sicily—Claims of Henry VI—Church for Italy against Germany—The Supreme Arbitrator—Three would-be emperors—King Frederick of Sicily—Philip, Duke of Swabia—Otto of Brunswick, Earl of York—Hohenstauffen Party (Ghibelline)—Brunswick Party (Guelf)—Guelf desertions—Philip's irregular Coronation—Innocent for Otto, but inclined to be neutral—Case of the Archbishop of Salerno—Pontifical terms—An idiotic bishop—France against Otto—England for Otto—Philip's case—viii Nov. 1202—Otto's desperate case—1199—Innocent champions him—Bull of 1201—Philip's first excommunication—And his second—Denunciation of Philip—Rejection of Frederick—Selection of Otto—Innocent's literary support of Otto—Otto's losing game—General venality—Otto handicapped by poverty and incapacity—John Lackland's default—Philip's affluence and capacity—Bohemian duplicity—Philip's Ghibellines act—Overtures to Guelf archbishop—Adolf's price—1204—Otto's loss—Philip buys Guelf duke—Pope and archbishop—Philip calls "check"—1205—Otto plays up—Philip calls "check mate"—Otto's ineptitude—1207—Innocent's problem—Pontifical terms to Philip—Philip's discreet capitulation—Otto recalcitrant—Innocent determined upon a settlement—June 1208, Assassination of Philip—Innocent reverts to Otto—Nov. 1208, Germany accepts Otto—Affirmation of elective principle a gain to the Papacy—Philip the August warns Innocent—Oct. 1209, Coronation of Otto—1210—A beggar on horseback—x May 1210, Otto against Innocent—Nov. 1210, Innocent remonstrates—Mar. 1211, End of Innocent's patience—Otto excommunicated and deposed—Innocent decrees a new election—Elect-Emperor Frederick—1212—Elect-Emperor goes to Germany—1213, Diet of the Empire at Konstanz—Otto's final stand—Alliance with John Softsword against French—July 1214, Bouvines—May 1215, King Frederick crowned at Aachen—Summary

WHEN Innocent the Third began to reign in 1198,
the status of the Papacy, its temporal power and

spiritual prestige, depended in no small degree on the personality of the new Pope. There were possibilities on all sides capable of leading to widely different results. On the one hand, the Papacy might soar above the Empire and be a spiritual sun in the firmament of the world — it might become a power superior to the Empire, in that the successor of Peter might dispose of the imperial and all other Christian crowns. On the other hand, the Papacy might sink beneath the Empire — Peter might pass under the control of Caesar, occupying a mere patriarchate with a spiritual importance little greater than that of Mainz or Cöln, and become a see filled by German prelates nominated by the German king, simply in order that he might have some one to give him the two crowns of the Roman Empire and to be viceroy of a German garrison in conquered Italy. There was a third course, an indefinite one — a course in which Papacy and Empire would fight hard for niggling successes, each claiming to be the other's superior, each secretly afraid that it was the other's inferior, neither being quite convinced about its own status, and both behaving as though a policy of opportunism was its settled method and part of a long and carefully considered scheme.

As well as possibilities there were certain solid facts. The Papacy claimed the kingdom of

Sicily (more modernly known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) as a feudal fief in virtue of its acknowledged relations with the Norman kings. Henry the Sixth, the late emperor, had held Sicily *iure uxoris*; and had considered the Matildan lands (Tuscany, Parma, Mantua, Modena), as well as the Marches, Pentapolis, and all Lombardy, as part of the Empire. Also he had contended that a Roman emperor could be no man's vassal, not even Saint Peter's. And all of this the Popes disputed. Innocent the Third, by claiming a great deal, might very reasonably expect to realize some part thereof; and historians may just as well frankly recognize once for all the fact that the Church stood for Italy against the Germans, and not simply as Peter against Caesar. The Pope indeed said quite frequently that He stood for Italy, and harped on the fact that Germans were outlanders and barbarous of habit, being moreover afflicted with a language uncouth to polite ears.¹¹ Had such an idea as that of "Italia Unica e Libera" existed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Church might aptly have been called the patriotic party,

¹¹ Pope Innocent III. was perhaps the first who officially made fun of i Tedeschi and started the flow of sarcasm with which the Italians were so fond of assailing Germans in subsequent centuries, a sarcasm which culminated in the famous decision of the Florentine Signory, not to pay for a certain cartoon in the municipal palace because the artist had introduced into the composition thereof "representations of monsters, dwarves, Germans, and similar indecencies."

and Innocent the Third the national hero. But unfortunately none of the actors of our period knew the names of the characters they personated.

From the very first, fortune favoured the Pope. At His accession He at once found Himself supreme arbitrator of Christendom. Three kings of Germany happened to have realized that no one but the Pope could make an emperor; and they, consequently, were competitors for His support and favour. Of these three, the Lord Innocent already was warden of the youngest and (according to modern reckoning) the legitimate claimant. But, apart from this temporary relation (which, while it lasted, might have been twisted to the advantage of the Apostolic See), the position of Frederick of Hohenstauffen, as King of Sicily¹² *iure matris*, would have been dangerous to the temporal independence of the Papacy, were he to be also Emperor. The next pretender, Duke Philip of Swabia,¹³ uncle and next heir (as far as the Hohenstauffen lands were concerned) to Frederick, was a candidate for the Empire, chiefly in order to keep the crown in the family: for he knew that, however legitimate and duly-elected King Frederick might be, he would (as a minor) have no chance of retaining in permanence either

¹² Innocent had reconfirmed the Kingdom to Constance and her heirs in a Breve of Nov. 1198.

¹³ Duke Philip had been invested by his imperial brother with the Duchy of Tuscany, which was claimed by the Holy See as part of the Matildan donation.

title or demesnes. Therefore Duke Philip (while he personally perfectly respected his nephew and the latter's claims and position) looked upon himself just as the Uncle-Regent. That he aspired to the imperial title is, in itself, no proof of treachery against his nephew: for the custom of having more than one emperor was by no means uncommon in the Eastern Empire, when reasons (for such a condition of affairs) existed similar to those which had newly arisen in the Western. Duke Philip's basic policy simply amounted to a determination to keep the imperial dignity in the House of Hohenstauffen. The real heir, being an infant barely out of arms, could not possibly take the necessary steps to do this: therefore he, Duke Philip, had himself elected, to prevent the crown from falling into alien hands; and the South Germans were his chief adherents. The third (and foreign) pretender, Otto of Brunswick,¹⁴ Count of Poitou, Earl of York,¹⁵ was a

¹⁴ Otto, as son of Henry the Lion (Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who was spoiled of his duchies by Barbarossa), had the right (according to the German fashion) to style himself Duke of Saxony. In virtue of his lordship of Brunswick, which he inherited from his father (this, being allodial land, was not escheated with the duchies), he is called Otto of Brunswick. The Duchy of Brunswick did not come into existence as such until viiiii Aug. 1235, when it was created in favour of his nephew, Otto the Boy.

¹⁵ Richard I is said to have created his nephew Otto Earl of York in 1190: in 1196 he was created also Count of Poitou, a creation which Hoveden says was by way of exchange for his Earldom of York. In 1200 he sent ambassadors to John to claim both York and Poitou, but was unsuccessful. G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, vol. viii, p. 212, *note*.

nephew of King Richard Lionheart, who had raised him to high dignities, both in his continental and insular dominions. He had been brought up rather as an Angevin than a German; and had only some slight support from the princes of the North-west.

The principal members of the Hohenstauffen party, the Ghibellines, were Archbishops Ludolf of Magdeburg and Hartwich of Bremen, who respectively wanted the lordships of Sonnenburg and Stade: Archbishop Adelbert of Salzburg, Bishops Diethelm of Konstanz and Wolfgard of Passau, who were family friends: Bishops Gerard of Osnabruck and Thiemo of Bamberg, apparently from self-interest: Bishop Konrad of Hildesheim, Chancellor of the Empire: and the Bishops of Brixen and Eichstadt. Beside these, the Dukes of Carinthia, Bernard II of Saxony, Ludwig I of Bavaria, and the whole posse of Saxon, Franconian, and Swabian counts, also followed Duke Philip. Many of these princes held fiefs which had been confiscated by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa from the House of Brunswick: it was therefore opposed to their interest that Duke Otto should be elected, or indeed any one who was not a Hohenstauffen.

The principal members of the Brunswick party, the Guelfs, were Archbishop Adolf of Cöln, Archbishop Johan I of Trier, Bishop Hermann of Münster, Bishop Heinrich of Strassburg, the

Bishops of Paderborn, Minden, Cambray and Utrecht, the Abbots of Verden and Corvey. To these must be added Dukes Henry of Brabant and Walram of Limburg, Counts Baldwin of Flanders, Wilhelm of Jülich, Volkwin of Waldeck, the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, and Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine. All the princes and bishops of the Netherlands hung together: but it must not be assumed, from the similarity of titles, that a Duke of Brabant or Limburg was the equal in any sense of the Duke of Bavaria or of Saxony. Further, the archbishopric of Mainz was vacant, the Jupan of Bohemia was busy with civil war at home, and the Duke of Austria was about to die: so none of these voted for Otto. But (apart from the comparative insignificance of the Guelf party) an analysis of the subsequent proceedings of the personages named in the foregoing category will show that the Ottonian faction was not rendered invincible (as insignificant factions have been known to be) by the consolidating bond of loyalty. The Archbishop of Cöln, the Bishop of Münster, the Abbots of Verden and Corvey, the Duke of Brabant, and the Count of Jülich ratted to the Ghibellines for no honourable reasons. Even Henry Count Palatine deserted his brother Otto (who refused him the seneschality of Lichtenberg) to accept that of Goslar from Philip. The Landgrave of Thuringia left the Brunswicker, on account of a

family quarrel. Count Baldwin of Flanders, who in the first place had only been a Guelf because he was afraid of King Philip of France, went away to become Emperor of Romania. Lastly, the Archbishop of Trier (who had been vastly bribed by Duke Otto) actually went over to the Ghibellines and crowned Duke Philip. This left Otto only the support of the Duke of Limburg and the Count of Waldeck with the Netherlands bishops and the Bishop of Strassburg. The allegiance of the last, perhaps, was the most worth having: it was due to the strong motive of revenge, his brother having been murdered by Duke Philip's predecessor. Apart from these allies Otto could only hope for help from France, or from the Papacy.

As it was to the interest of the Papacy to have a weak Emperor, it is only natural to suppose that the Lord Innocent from the very first had a predisposition toward the Guelf candidate. Duke Otto of Brunswick was bound to appear to the Holy See as a man whose election would damage the prospects of the hereditary principle in the Empire, the confirmation of which principle would have gone as far to solidify the imperial power as it would to abolish opportunities for Papal intervention in Imperial affairs.

Still such was not actually the case.

At first the Pope announced that He was going to be neutral in the matter of the disputed

German kingship. He even appears to have inclined toward the Swabian Philip, as being more likely to be able to assist the Church, if won over to Her side, than the Saxon Otto in whose favour it would be more natural for the pontifical policy to have moved. It is indeed an instance of the Lord Innocent's readiness to do violence to His Own feelings and throw precedent and inherited policy to the winds, if by so doing He might build one more step to the Siege of Peter whereon it might tower the higher over the minds of men.

The Emperor Henry, among other things for which he was hated (and quite possibly poisoned) by his southern subjects, had carried off the Archbishop of Salerno, and imprisoned him beyond the Alps. The Pope was of opinion that it would redound to the credit of the Papacy in the eyes of the Italians were this prelate to be released at His instigation: and it was His object to arouse some feeling of the entity of Italy among her inhabitants. Therefore, after giving time for the neutrality proclamation to have effect upon Duke Philip, the Pope sent the Bishop of Sutri to suggest that, if his brother of Salerno were to be released, the Celestian excommunication (under which the Swabian still languished) would certainly be removed, while it was quite possible that further favours would follow.

No one knows to what desirable end this train

of policy might have led, had not the pig-headed German who filled the see of Sutri taken the bit between his teeth, granted unconditional relief from the ban (refraining from mentioning the hard case of the unhappy archbishop), and hurried to grace Philip's coronation in his official capacity: so inducing the Hohenstauffen adherents to think that Rome was with them—all this because he was a party man. We have here an admirable example of the way in which the Lord Innocent was only too often served.

Self-interest or policy, which, on the one hand, won for Duke Otto the friendship of the Roman Pontiff, on the other hand lost him that of the King of France. The nephew and friend of the Angevin and English Plantagenets (represented by King Richard Lionheart, the dear friend of Innocent the Third) could not at the same time be the friend of the French Capets. Indeed the French King wrote complaining of the elevation of Otto, upbraiding the Pope in a most unfilial manner for supporting him. Old ideals were passing away, notably that of the position of the Empire: which, in its highest conception, was almost a kind of lay Papacy, fitted into the structure of the body politic of Christendom, with the Roman Pontificate balancing it as a sort of spiritual Empire. The Emperor ought not to belong to a Country, still less to a Family, but to Christendom.¹⁶

¹⁶ Hürter.

How could this ideal be realized when two party nominees disputed for the Empire with civil war and foreign alliances? How could the Emperor personify Europe in arms against the Infidel in a new Crusade, as the temporal lord of Christendom, wielding the civil sword at the bidding of his spiritual co-equal, the Pope, if the personality of the Emperor differed geographically, being Otto of Brunswick here, or Philip of Swabia there, or little Frederick of Sicily elsewhere?

King Richard Plantagenet, who (if one may judge him from their correspondence) was on most amicable terms with the Pope, supported his nephew Duke Otto in an appeal for recognition by Rome. This was not only diplomatic, but according to precedent.

Duke Philip, whom the Pope would willingly have supported had his conditions been complied with, also appealed to Rome: but his course was beset by difficulties from the very beginning. First, there was the difficulty of his excommunication by Celestine the Third. That, he fondly imagined, was removed by Pope Innocent's absolution, sent through the Bishop of Sutri, who by his strange bungle in according absolution without insisting upon the Pope's conditions, may safely be said to have lost the Lord Innocent His grip over Philip, and so diverted the whole course of the pontifical policy with regard to the disputed election. It is true that the said absolution was

accorded with an alacrity, which, to a cautious prince, might have seemed suspicious: but Duke Philip was too much in a hurry to verify suspicions. Indeed they do not seem to have occurred at all. He probably judged the Pope from a purely secular standpoint; and, that a Conti should be prompt in reversing a decree of an Orsini (Orsini being Conti's hereditary enemy), no doubt appeared quite natural to the Swabian pretender. Again, when Philip had actually been elected, he had another difficulty in getting crowned. Aachen, the traditional place of coronation for a German King, was out of the question: but eventually the ceremony was performed at Mainz by Archbishop Johan of Trier and the Bishop of Tarentaise. But, only a little later, the Lord Innocent wrote to the former sternly threatening him with suspension, unless he should at once betake himself to Rome, to apologise humbly for his assumption of the office of a coronator. The archbishop obeyed, and the Pope pardoned him in a breve, dated viii Nov. 1202; but conditionally upon his according his support to Duke Otto: failing this, he would be excommunicated *campanellis et candelis*. No doubt this was very disconcerting for Philip: but still he was strong in his family's influence, the priority of his election, the quantity not less than the quality of his supporters; and consequently, he was by no means as eager to humble himself

before the Pope (of whom he entertained a not ill-founded Hohenstauffen distrust) as was his more despairing adversary.

Otto's case might be justly described as quite desperate. His uncle, Richard Plantagenet, unfortunately died in 1199; and, in spite of a will in his favour, Otto found himself deprived of extremely vital support. For King John Softsword, while sending promises of assistance, kept the legacy for himself; and many princes of the Empire swung over to Philip. But King Richard evidently had been a man after the Pope's Own heart: for, when Otto's prospects were blackest, the Lord Innocent came definitely and actively to the assistance of His dead friend's nephew. First, the Swabian embassy was coldly received in Rome, and obliged to listen to a Bull (read to them at a consistory in the Lateran) in which the pontifical position towards the Empire was summed up in the following mordant epigram,—“He who is anointed is less than He who anoints, and He who anoints is more worshipful than he who is anointed.”¹⁷ This was at the end of May. A month later, the Pope addressed a general epistle to the princes and prelates of Germany, concerning the Swabian pretender; and, early in Jan. 1201, He published the famous *Deliberatio* which is contained

¹⁷ “Minor est qui ungitur quam Qui ungit, et dignior est Unguens quam unctus.”

in the Bull *Interest Apostolice Sedis*. In this document, the Lord Innocent, affecting a judicial manner, and expounding the case under the heads of *quid liceat*, *quid deceat*, and *quid expedit*, reviewed the claims of the three candidates ; and, though in a modern Jesuit His judgment would be called a masterpiece of casuistry (in the invidious and unwarrantable second intention of the term), He had the courage to follow His premises to their logical and inevitable conclusion. The election of the baby Frederick of Sicily as King, although unanimous, was illegal : because at the time he had not been baptized. The election of Philip of Swabia was simply null and void (because he had been excommunicated), as was also the absolution on which he so fondly flattered himself, which (owing to the stupid blunder of the Bishop of Sutri) had been represented as unconditional instead of conditional as the Pope had intended. But beside this the Swabian was damned on a second count as well. There was another Bull—(it is quoted in a letter to the archbishops of the Kingdom dated x Aug. 1199¹⁸)—excommunicating Markwald von Anweiler and all Germans in arms against Frederick as King of Sicily. It could not be denied that Philip was a German ;

¹⁸ Cf. note 58, p. 89. “Excommunicamus et Anathematizamus . . . Marcovaldum et omnes fautores eius tam Teutonicos quam Latinos . . . et Damnamus.”

and, as he apparently was claiming the Empire against Frederick, (to whom he had sworn allegiance) he was, by virtue of this Bull, excommunicate as being a rebel against his nephew. That Philip's oath to Frederick was null and void, as being made to an unbaptized person, did not mitigate Philip's liability, because Frederick's disability had not been defined when the oath was taken. Philip had sworn in good faith, and was therefore bound by his oath until formally dispensed after the definition of aforesaid disability. Therefore the Duke of Swabia as a perjurer, was denounced as being wholly unfit for the highest secular office in Christendom. Furthermore, Philip's claims being thus rejected, the Scripture which says "Woe to the kingdom whose king is a child," seemed to clinch the matter also as regarded Frederick; and, in consequence, Duke Otto of Brunswick, (although the nominee of a discontented minority, and quite illegally elected,) was to be German King and Elect-Emperor of the Romans. As such indeed he is addressed in a letter of 1 Mar. 1201; and in return he made fairly comprehensive promises concerning rights which as yet he scarcely understood.¹⁹ Dated on the same day a great

¹⁹ EGO OTTO Dei Gratia Romanorum Rex et Semper Augustus, Tibi Domino Meo Innocentio Pape, Tuisque Successoribus, et Ecclesie Romane, spondeo pollicor promitto et iuro quod omnes possessiones honores et iura Romane Ecclesie proposse mea bona fide protegam et servabo. Possessiones autem quas Ecclesia Romana recuperavit

mass of letters to various princes and prelates in Germany proceeded from Rome: those to the prelates, expatiating upon Philip's previous excommunication by Celestine the Third: those to the southern princes, urging them to rally to the Guelf cause. An obscure knight, Walther von Bolland, even secured a whole epistle to himself, praising his desertion of Philip.²⁰ This may well serve as an example of the Pope's thorough-going energy in Otto's cause when once He had made up His mind to adopt it.

liberas et quietas Sibi dimittam et ipsam at eas retinendas bona fide iurabo. Quas autem nondum recuperavit adiutor ero ad recuperandum et recuperatarum secundum posse meum ero sine fraude defensor et quecumque ad manus meas devenerint sine difficultate restituere procurabo ad has pertinet tota terra que est a Radicofano usque Cepetanum exarchatus Ravenne Pentapolis Marchia Ducatus Spoletanus Terra Comitis Mathildis comitatis Britenorii cum aliis adiacentibus terris expressis in multis privilegiis imperatorum a tempore Lodoysi. Has omnes pro posse meo restitutam et quiete dimittam cum omni iurisdictione districtu et honore Suo verumtamen cum ad recipiendam coronam Imperii vel pro necessitatibus Ecclesie ab Apostolice Sede vocatus accessero de mandato Summi Pontificis recipiam procurationes ab Illis: Adiutor etiam ero ad retinendum et defendendum Ecclesie Romane Regnum Sicilie. Tibi etiam Domino meo Innocentio Pape et Successoribus Tuis omnem obedientiam et honorificentiam exhibebo quam devoti et Catholicci Imperatores consuerunt Sedi Apostolice exhibere. Stabo etiam ad consilium et arbitrium Tuum de bonis consuetudinibus populo Romano servandis et exhibentis et de negotio societatis Tuscie et Lombardie. Similiter etiam consilio Tuo et mandato parebo de pace vel concordia facienda inter me et Philippum Regem Francorum et si propter negotium meum Romanam Ecclesiam oportuerit incurrire guerram subveniam Ei sicut necessitas postulaverit in expensis. Omnia vero predicta tam iuramento quam scripto firmabo cum Imperj fuero coronam adeptus. —Actum Nuxie in Coloniensi Diocesi, Anno Incarnati Verbi MCCI: vi Idus Iunij. *Codice Diplomatico Domini Temporalis S. Sedis.* Tom. I.

²⁰ This letter would seem to be purely gratuitous.

We are not concerned with the internal history of the German civil war, except in its international bearings. It is here that the correspondence of the Lord Innocent contained in the *Regesta*, catalogued by Potthast, and mostly transcribed by Migne, becomes extremely interesting. We find no less than eight epistles addressed to King John Softsword between 1200 and 1206 urging payment of King Richard's legacies to the Elect-Emperor. Three went to King Philip the August, impressing him with the necessity of accepting Otto and discarding the Duke of Swabia. The Pope even took charge of the matrimonial affairs of His protégé—two letters to her father in 1202-3 pointed out the eligibility of the Duke of Brabant's daughter as Empress. And, when a disposition to favour Duke Philip began to manifest itself in the German hierarchy, the Lord Innocent was seized with a positive *scribendi cacoethes* of letters minatory or persuasive. He had been deeply annoyed, that, at the election to the see of Mainz in 1200, the Guelfic Siegfried von Eppstein should have secured only three votes against the nine of the Ghibelline Leopold von Schönfeld: while the unfortunate Archbishop of Besançon, for rendering royal honours to the Duke of Swabia, was menaced with excommunication *campanis pulsatis et candelis extinctis* with quite unexpected acridity.

Although the Pope was burning with zeal for a Crusade, and well knew that the distressed and divided conditions of the Empire forbade any hope of assistance for His darling scheme from that quarter: yet, nevertheless, He was bound both by honour and interest to support Otto now. Without pontifical assistance, and the constant support afforded through epistles, legates, and malediction of his enemies, the Elect-Emperor and his claims would have withered beyond recognition. Even with all these auxiliaries, numbers of his supporters melted away in spite of every effort to retain them, until he was reduced to a single city, and that (be it noted) in his hereditary dominions.

The Lord Innocent was moved, not so much by the loss of skirmishes or the failure of military manœuvres, as by the continued desertions which weakened the Guelfic cause. The German princes and prelates of both parties were phenomenally mercenary and interested in their motives, and altogether oblivious of the merits of the causes which they alternately espoused. So long as pay was forthcoming—whether it took the shape of silver marks, grants of new lordships, confirmations of old spoliations, or advantageous marriages for themselves or their children, just so long were they loyal to their leader: but no longer.

In this competition, King Otto, from the first,

was severely handicapped. The extent of territory which owed him obedience was smaller than that of his rival: this means that he had fewer lordships wherewith to satiate the maws of his ravening parasites. His family possessions were less wide than the Swabian's; and even they were largely possessed by other people—by his enemies whose evacuation he was too weak to contrive, and by his friends of whom he dared not demand restitution for fear of changing them into enemies. And at the same time, the absence of bullion in his treasury most seriously hampered him. He had, from his uncle King John Lackland, whole sheaves of promises to pay the various legacies bequeathed by the Lionheart's will: but these were not negotiable securities either in Germany or elsewhere. John did, however, pay 9000 marks to Otto's military chest on xxviii Jan. 1213 (*Foedera I.* 108). This is a good exemplification of the adage "Honour among thieves": both these noble men being, at the time, excommunicated and deposed from their respective thrones.

Duke Philip of Swabia, on the other hand, was far from being pinched by penury; and, further, he had the very nicest knowledge of the price of a German prince. The Jupan of Bohemia, for instance, who (with the true Slovène thirst for regality) had long styled himself King, was gratified by Philip's pretended-imperial recognition of his claim; and was secured as a loyal

Ghibelline. The sequel is delightfully illustrative of the manners of these mediaeval peoples. The crafty Ottokar later conceived a desire for pontifical recognition also of his kingly title; and allowed himself to Guelfize for a few months for the express purpose of obtaining it. This must in no way be accounted a diplomatic triumph for the Pope's bow and spear, but simply a manœuvre prompted by the Czech's vanity. For, as soon as he was registered as King of Bohemia at the Lateran and at Otto's court at Brunswick, as well as with the Ghibellines, he was very easily frightened back to his former allegiance by Duke Philip's threat of confiscation. Indeed he may be said to have done very well for himself: for, by his latest tergiversation, he gained Duke Philip's daughter Kunigunde as his queen.

The good Bishop Diethelm of Konstanz (who was Ghibelline from conviction as well as from gratitude for favours past received) was one of the chief pillars of the Swabian party. Count Wilhelm of Jülich (who is credibly asserted to have surpassed all the rest of his contemporaries in the scandal of his life) had recently turned his coat in return for a lordship worth 600 marks a year and some other minor considerations. This ill-yoked pair set themselves to win over no less a personage than Archbishop Adolf I of Cöln, who was the heart and the soul of the Guelfs. Bishop Diethelm acted according to his con-

science. The Count of Jülich was well paid for his services; and, as they were successful, the money was well spent. The archbishop was offered a Ghibelline confirmation of all the Guelfic gifts, and not a few further inducements. He wavered—held out for a good price—and sold himself for 9000 pieces of silver. The price of a German archbishop transcended that of a Jewish apostle. Saalfeld, given by Otto in return for services at election, was confirmed to Adolf; and, on the morrow of Saint Martin, 1204, he swore fidelity to Duke Philip. On the same day, the Duke of Brabant and Lower Lorraine also became Ghibelline: his price was the abbey of Nivelle, the lordship of Neuss, half Alsace and Boppard, with permission for daughters to inherit instead of these fiefs lapsing to the Empire. Archbishop Adolf, with all the enthusiasm of a convert, proposed to crown Philip in Aachen, so as to rectify the possibly invalid coronation at Mainz: but the inhabitants of Aachen were staunch Guelfs; and (after bitterly reproaching the prelate for his fickleness) they complained about him to the Pope.

The Lord Innocent kept Himself always well posted in German affairs. He had noted that for some time past, Archbishop Adolf's efforts on Otto's behalf had been perfunctory and half-hearted; and had long suspected him of luke-warmness: but the news of the treachery came

as a distinct blow. To judge from the letters which the Pope sent in old days to Adolf, the latter would seem to have been almost a personal friend; and, although His Paternity was in duty bound to punish the erring prelate by excommunication and deposition, yet He was apparently more grieved than angry, and continued to correspond with him during his disgrace, and even conferred a pension on him vii Nov. 1209.²¹ Further, the Pope wrote to Siegfried von Eppstein, whom, (over-riding the capitular vote) He had preconized to the archbishopric of Mainz, directing him to remonstrate with the transgressor and, if in vain, to report to Rome. He also decided that in future, German archbishops would not only have to take the customary oath on receipt of the archiepiscopal pallium from Saint Peter's tomb, but also to sign and seal a document, wherein they swore unqualified obedience in all things to Peter's Successor. Without doubt, Caesar's distress was Peter's opportunity.

Duke Philip, however, determined to make the best of his chances, summoned his adherents to see him crowned by the Archbishop of Cöln at Aachen on New Year's day 1205. This news aroused the Elect-Emperor Otto from his lethargy at Brunswick, where he, for some time, had been enjoying himself heedless of imperial affairs and the growing insecurity of his position. He, too,

²¹ Cf. Letters to Archbishop Adolf, Appendix VI.

summoned his supporters—(now reduced to the Duke of Limburg, his own brother William, Archbishop von Eppstein of Mainz, the Bishop of Cambray, and the Abbot of Verden)—to meet him at Aachen; and marched to that city, with the idea of holding it against Philip. But the disparity of forces rendered this impossible; and after some fighting, Otto (being injured by a fall) retired to Cöln.

Duke Philip's next step was both ingenious and diplomatic. At Aachen, with great pomp, he abdicated the kingdom: deposited the regal insignia; and (as Duke of Swabia) solicited election as king. This was unanimously and enthusiastically accorded; and, having now swept away all but the radical ground of reproach as to the irregularity of his election, Philip and his queen, Irene (the daughter of Izaak II Angelos), were solemnly anointed, consecrated, and crowned by the right archbishop on the traditional spot for such ceremonies. Whatever Otto might claim to be in virtue of pontifical recognition, Philip at least was king by free election and valid (if illicit) coronation. As for the vital matter of pontifical confirmation, Philip no doubt was satisfied for the present with the fact that he practically had his nation behind him. The other, no doubt, would come in due time. It is one thing to ask the Father of princes and kings for a crown which neither He nor the applicant holds: it is quite

another thing to petition for ratification of a diadem which one has on one's brow.

Otto at this juncture seems to have behaved in an extremely inadequate manner. He might have retained his friends with a little exertion—the Abbot of Corvey, for instance, for whom he might have requested a mitre (as he successfully did for the Abbot of Verden) and who, piqued by his sovereign's neglect, went and swore allegiance to King Philip at his coronation. Otto did succeed in preventing Archbishop Adolf from carrying Cöln along with him: but was unable to hold it against Philip. A German city, however, never at any time was noted for loyalty to its episcopal ruler; and very little effort on Otto's part sufficed to re-capture it. But Philip, tenacious as usual, took it back again; and, having visited the city in state at Easter 1207 and confirmed and extended its commercial privileges, taught the Cölner the advantage of being on the winning side.

Even Pope Innocent, notwithstanding His devotion for Otto, was far too astute to persist in imposing him as emperor upon the German people and the princes of the Empire, who manifestly were determined to prefer Philip of Swabia. Yet, there were many outstanding questions to be settled between Himself and Philip, before He could transfer His favour to the Ghibelline. He therefore prepared a truce; and insisted to King

Philip that the claims of the Apostolic See in all ecclesiastical disputes should be conceded. The Guelfic archbishops were to be kept no longer out of their sees. The deposed Adolf I of Cöln was not to be maintained in his illegal position. Leopold von Schönfeld, the Ghibelline Archbishop of Mainz, was to be deprived of his temporalities ; and Bruno V was to be set at liberty in order that he might succeed his rival Adolf in the see of Cöln. Finally the army prepared against Otto was to be disbanded. With the curious propensity which the Church in all ages has shown for furnishing up rusty weapons, old scores, forgotten grudges (when anything is to be gained thereby), Innocent offered a full, complete, and unconditional absolution from the Celestinian excommunication as the price of the renunciation.

Philip was unwilling to agree to the last demand ; and it was not until his own embassy returned from Rome, assuring him that he had no alternative, that he gave way. Quite apart from the difference of their respective positions, Innocent was a far greater man than Philip ; and the latter was not the first German sovereign—or the last—who has shattered his mailed fist upon the Rock of Peter. He therefore agreed to the pontifical terms : was absolved and reconciled to the Church, at Speyer, Aug. 1207, swearing to obey the Pope in all those matters by disregard of which he had incurred censure.

The question of a truce—or, better still, a peace—between Philip and Otto, was then treated by the legates. Philip, to secure pontifical favour, levied a tax for the Crusade throughout the Empire; and confidently awaited the legatine conditions. These suited him admirably. He was to give his daughter Beatrix in marriage to Otto, with the right of succession to the duchy of Swabia, together with certain lordships and castles as her dowry. Otto on his part was to lay down his kingly title, and recognize his father-in-law as sovereign.

Otto refused. Philip loyally disbanded his army: accepted an unconditional truce; and appealed to the Pope for imperial coronation for himself, and pontifical favour for the deposed Archbishop Adolf.

The Pope pardoned and received Adolf, but confirmed Bruno V in the see of Cöln, at the same time when He confirmed von Eppstein the Guelfic candidate in Mainz; and He also announced, by legate, His intention of recognizing Philip as King.

This means that the Lord Innocent was defeated, in that He was obliged to relinquish His support of Otto. Yet, so deftly did He wield the weapons of spiritual and temporal diplomacy that He all but transformed His defeat into a victory. His nominees occupied the disputed German sees. King Philip, His liegeman, was obeying His

commands, humbly asking for imperial coronation, as though he were the vanquished asking favours of a conqueror.

But, in June 1208, King Philip was assassinated by Otto von Wittelsbach, a notorious robber, murderer, and perverter of justice, to whom he had refused his daughter in marriage. It is said that his death was heralded by astronomical presages and portents similar to those which terrified Rome before the murder of Julius Caesar.

The Pope was at Sora when He heard the news; and, though He regretted the tragedy, He cannot but have been sensible that this event definitely and absolutely terminated the unhappy struggle, which, during a decade, had afflicted Germany with anarchy and civil war. He wrote once more to the German princes pointing out that the judgment of Heaven had decided in favour of Otto.

The Germans, tired of discord, agreed. After a preliminary recognition by the Saxons, Otto was solemnly accepted as king by all Germany at Frankfort-on-Main, xi Nov. 1208. To make his position sure, he followed out the conditions agreed upon by his dead rival; and betrothed himself to Beatrix, dead Philip's daughter, receiving her dowry, which consisted of several lordships and three hundred and fifty castles. The ban of the Empire was put upon Philip's assassin; and, to avoid possibility of another disputed election,

it was decided that the prelates and princes of Germany should in future entrust their rights of choice to seven electors, viz., the Archbishops of Mainz, Cöln, and Trier, the Duke of Saxony, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Markgraf of Brandenburg, with a casting vote to the King of Bohemia. This (excepting from the point of view of those princes who had relinquished their right of election) was a considerable improvement on the old system: for a candidate, there were fewer electors to canvass and bribe: while, for the electors, there were fewer fellow-voters with whom to share the candidate's money. It was also a distinct gain for the Papacy. The Empire definitely and solemnly reaffirmed its elective character within a few months of (what seemed to be) the triumph of the hereditary principle. The Papacy, which could not but be elective, would always be better able to engage the Empire on equal terms, if both had to submit to periodic intervals of uncertainty, than if it had to oppose a long and perpetually interrupted succession of tired and somewhat old men and their varying views to the steady family policy of an hereditarily constituted state.

King Philip the August, alone of the princes of Europe, foresaw what would happen; and warned the Pope that He would be sorry for making Otto king. The Lord Innocent, however, refused to credit the suggestion; and inti-

mated to His imperial protégé that the double crown awaited him in Rome.²²

Thither, after some doings in Upper Italy, King Otto marched; and was crowned Emperor in Saint Peter's, on *iiii Oct.* 1209. The customary bloody fight took place between the Romans and Germans; and the Emperor sought to make the Pope responsible for his considerable losses both of men and horses in this struggle. The Pope considered that the Papacy had been slighted by Otto's previous diplomatic *gaucherie*,²³ and was not inclined to work hard to smooth down or ride over the Emperor's brusqueness. The two potentates quarrelled. And, although for the moment matters were kept within due bounds, the Emperor's behaviour during his journey back through Matildan Tuscany shewed that the reconciliation was by no means a stable one. His act, for example, granting the March of Ancona to Azzo d'Este in 1210, was a direct challenge to the Pope: for the latter had always claimed the March as being a pontifical territory. The Lord Innocent answered the affront in a most characteristic way. On *x May* 1210, with subsequent confirmation two years later, he granted a Bull of investiture (*in rectum feudum* to the Holy

²² Letter dated *v Jan.* 1209. *Cf.* Appendix VI.

²³ Otto had sent persons of low degree as his ambassadors to supplicate for Imperial coronation, instead of princes of rank, as was demanded by the exigences of the protocol and Lateran etiquette.

See) to Azzo of the very fief of which he had obtained imperial investiture with the sword. This was check to the Emperor: who replied by seizing castles and fiefs, which (he said) the Pope had stolen *imperio vacante*; and even invented monstrous pretensions justifying his invasion of the Kingdom, alleging that his coronation oath bound him to recover anything which at any time had belonged to the Empire.

The Pope clearly perceived that His quondam client had waxed fat and was kicking; and wrote to King Frederick of Sicily, now sixteen years old, inciting him to resist any infringements of his rights. But before proceeding to extreme measures, Innocent again remonstrated with Otto, Nov. 1210,²⁴ trusting that gratitude might bring

²⁴ From the Bull "Quamvis de Regnum," dated 1 Nov. 1210. (From the Altemps MSS.)

Innocentius Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, Dilecto in Christo filio Ottone, dei gratia Romanorum Regi, semper augusto, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. . . . Quamvis de regnum Apostolice Sedi quod Domino disponente mater omnium et magnam insufficientes merebit Nos . . . nam quantam Desideravimus personam tuam ad imperiale fastigium sublimare et quolibet per Nos ac etiam venerabilis fratres Nostros operam efficacem ut coronam Imperij ceteris conscriptis principibus obtaineres. . . . Ad tantum igitur apicem dignitatis per Sedem Apostolicam sublimatus Romanum deberes . . . sed habeas pro oculis que modernis temporibus facta sunt precipue in antecessore suo videlicet Federico quia fidelitatem nolens ut tenebatur Sedi Apostolice conservare prima facie porticam Sancti Petri et alia postmodum gravamina intulit ecclesie sacro-sancte pro quorum meritis in proprio confere tulit penam ipsam quando in filios procul destinavit quia scriptum est "Ego sum Deus Qui vities peccata patrum in filios usque in tertiam et quartam generationem."

Hanc filius volens personaliter sepulcrum Domini visitare Israel-

him to a better frame of mind. The Emperor insolently denied his culpability: alleging, not wholly without reason (according to the current ideas of the time), that as he was Emperor all temporal affairs of the Empire and Christendom were within his cognizance, and that the Pope no longer had any call to interfere therein. He went on to protest that he had never interfered with those Spiritualities to which the Pope (now that there was a Lay Head for the Temporal duties of the world) ought to confine Himself; and iterated his newly invented interpretation of the imperial coronation oath as an excuse for his misdeeds. The Pope delayed a little longer, permitting the Emperor to heap up evidences of his rancour against the Church, and hostility towards King Frederick, upon whose head he seemed desirous of visiting the sins of his grandfather, father, and uncle.

A crusade has been known to wander beyond the control of the Roman Pontiff: but an emperor can never entirely get out of hand. On *xxxii March 1211*, ten years and a month after the Pope first recommended the German princes and prelates to support Otto, His patience came to an end. He issued a bull of excommunication against the Emperor, which was accompanied by a

iticis non immerito potuit comparari qui propter peccata sua remissionis terram nequaquam ingredi meruerunt ante quo tempore Jerusolimam intraret morte sicut repentina in quodam flumine suffocatus. . . .

bull of deposition, absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him: furthermore the German princes were commanded at once to proceed to a new election. This fulmination took Germany by surprise: but there was no resistance to the Pontiff's will. Many princes, actuated by long dormant but reviving affection for the Hohenstaufen, promptly acted in the name of Germany (although they were not the lawful electors). Their choice fell upon King Frederick of Sicily: and envoys^{**} were dispatched begging his acceptance of the crown. Thus, at the very moment when the excommunicate Otto had conquered nearly all Sicily within the Pharos (i.e. Apulia and the rest of the continental Kingdom) he found that the Pope was, even more than of old, able to sway Germany to His will; and that the ground had been cut away from under his feet. In very truth Otto had played the part of *Æsop's dog*: having the Imperial Crown safely in his mouth, he had dropped it in a vain endeavour to grasp the shadowy diadem of Sicily; and now was awakened by the splash to find himself an excommunicate ex-emperor trespassing on a better man's property.

The young King, in spite of the advice of his nobles and the entreaties of his wife, Constance de Aragon, accepted the proffered dignity at the beginning of 1212; and hastened to Germany,

^{**} Heinrich von Nisen and Anselm von Iusting.

stopping on his way to confer with the Lord Innocent. Evading the hostility of the Guelfic Milanese, he crossed the Alps and arrived in Konstanz: where he held a diet in 1213, and granted liberty of election to the chapters and freedom of appeal to Rome.

On the arrival of this new competitor, the ex-emperor Otto hastened to marry his betrothed, Beatrix von Hohenstauffen. She died a few days after the ceremony; and many of Otto's adherents, judging the event to portend Providential disapproval of the marriage of an excommunicate person, left him. Indeed, this prince, either from his infelicitous manners, the malignance of his stars, or whatever form of words best expresses permanent ill luck, seemed more able to lose supporters than to gain—or retain—them. Otto, however, so far profited by his widowerhood as to be able to marry Mary of Brabant, upon whom he had had his eye for more than twelve years; and thus secured (in a round-about way) the support of her father the Duke of Brabant. Further, being convinced that (while King Philip the August was his enemy) he never could make headway against King Frederick, and led away by the frantic promises of his uncle King John Softsword, he embarked against the French, with his new father-in-law and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne in the disastrous avuncular expedition which was smashed at

Bouvines, xxvii Jul. 1214. This, once more, reduced him to the status of mere Duke of Saxony, Lord of the moderate inheritance of Brunswick: Cöln alone of all Germany (outside his ancestral dominions) remaining faithful to him: while for a second time he suffered the bitter mortification of seeing a successful rival, this time King Frederick, crowned in his stead at Aachen in May, 1215: an event which signalized the triumph of Innocent's policy for the last time in Germany.

Throughout his Ottonian German policy the Pope, after the first gambit in favour of the Hohenstauffen which had been ruined by the unreasoning folly of the Bishop of Sutri, was playing a game which was not of His choice. Betrayed by His agent, the Lord Innocent was unable to continue the Hohenstauffen friendship; and had to become a Guelf. Now a powerful man, accustomed to choose or make his own battle-fields, is cramped when suddenly compelled to fight on ground of some one else's choice by reason of the sudden incompetency of a trusted servant. The Lord Innocent was annoyed at having to support the phlegmatic Otto; and was hard put to justify His course at all. It speaks well for the authority exercised by Innocent over the Germans that He was able to maintain His struggle so well against the Swabian, to get such good terms for His protégé when it appeared

necessary to abandon his cause, to impose a rejected candidate upon the Princes who for years had upheld a leader of entirely opposite policy, and lastly (having made and crowned him with all the Empire obedient to his rule) to brush him aside and make the same Princes obey a third and still more different candidate.

And it is more than ever remarkable that the cause for which Otto was deposed was one which would be likely to find favour among the patriotic Germans—the recovery of lost imperial provinces and the consolidation of German power in Italy, and that the person in whose favour he was deposed was a boy who could speak no German, born in Sicily, brought up under the tutorship of the Pope and a self-confessed vassal and liegeman of the Holy See. But this success is due to the fact that the Lord Innocent was once more fighting on ground of His own choice and was logical as well as authoritative in His diplomatic reasoning.

CHAPTER ~~III~~ ~~IV~~

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Innocent's crochet—Difficulties—State of Christendom—Innocent's efforts—Funds—Foulques de Neuilly's mission—Count Baldwin of Flanders—New levy of "Dime Saladine"—Venetian contract—Venetians suspected—Chief crusaders—Boniface of Montferrat—Oct. 1202—Proposed assault on Christian Zara—Peter the Legate—Innocent threatens excommunication—Crusaders desperate—Nov. 1202, Capture of Zara—Massacre of Latins—Dual Sebاستocracy a failure—Jan. 1204, Nikolaos Kanabos, Basileus—Rise of "Murtzuphos," 1203—Death of Izaak II—"Murtzuphos" becomes Alexios V—Dandolo warns Latins—Feb. 1204, Alexios III murdered by usurper—Latins in arms—Alexios V blinded by Alexios III—Latins sack Byzantium—but preserve incredible relics—Latin rule—Baldwin of Flanders, Emperor of Romania—Latin Patriarch of Constantinople—Latin King and Princes—Alexios III at Hadrianopolis—Numerous pretenders—at Trebizonde—in Epiros—at Nikaia—at Herakleia—and elsewhere—Innocent and the new empire—Thievish Latins—"Respect Church property"—Emperor Baldwin blunders at Bulgaria—Innocent's diplomacy defeated—1205, Baldwin captured by Bulgars—Innocent's new responsibilities—Venetian arrogance—1208, Innocent's efforts with Laskaris—Room for the great Orders—Templars and the new princes—Thefts of gifts—Latin Hierarchy—ecclesiastical supervision—Venetian cupidity—Venetian patriarch protests—1211, Patriarch Morosini dies—1211—1215 *sedes vacat*—1215, Gervais of Tuscany, Patriarch—1204, Bull, *Legimus in Daniele*—Innocent's hopes expressed—and unfulfilled.

THE darling wish of Pope Innocent's heart was that Christendom should take really efficacious measures to reconquer the Holy Land, and to

re-establish the now shadowy kingdom of Jerusalem. This was His fixed idea. He would have liked to live and labour for this end alone. He felt the presence of the Infidel in the Holy City to be an insult to Christianity, and the torpor of Christendom in submitting to such an affront to be an insult to Heaven.

No one knew better than Innocent what a host of difficulties beset the scheme for a Crusade. He was quite aware of "the inertia, the stolidity, the volatility, the inconstancy, which rulers have to direct, to curb, to shape."²⁶ Yet He bravely encountered the passive opposition of princes, and set Himself to crystallize the fluent phantasies of peoples. His favourite adjuration to kings militant was "Make peace, and take the Cross." To the rest, He said, "As you are at peace, take the Cross."²⁷ He must have felt keenly the reputation in which Germany held Him. His policy there had led Him near to one of the two serious mistakes of His life, when He (the apostle of the Prince of Peace and God's vicegerent) Who was constantly urging Christians to surcease from interchristian strife and combine against the Infidel, found Himself both the initiator and the mainstay of a state of affairs which simply amounted to the handing over of one of the best recruiting grounds for crusaders

²⁶ Rolfe. *Hadrian the Seventh*.

²⁷ Cf. the Pope's letters: Appendix VI.

to anarchy and civil war. It shews immense perseverance and no small powers of persuasion and organization, that the Lord Innocent was able to get a Crusade to start on its way at all ; and it would be hardly fair to blame Him for its scandalous misbehaviour when it passed from His control into the clutches of the Venetians.

At the beginning of His reign, the outlook in politics must have been indeed disheartening to a Pontiff intending Himself toward Christian unity and annihilation of Infidels. The principal monarchies of Christendom were too fully occupied with their own (or their neighbour's) affairs, to be in the least receptive of His hints of the nobler tasks which awaited their brains and swords. The lesser states were as suspicious of the greater, as were the greater of one another. Some sovereigns were setting ineffable examples of the state of matrimony ; and the inevitable pontifical censure prejudiced them against the blandishments of the Pontiff. The great Orders, Christendom's first line of offence and defence, were quarrelling and bickering among themselves in the very face of the enemy. The Christian princes in the Levant were behaving like heathen savages—the Count of Tripoli, for instance, (who flayed his archbishop) and the Prince of Antioch (who sold Christians as slaves to the Saracens and was suspected of schismatic leanings toward Orthodoxy). The Basileus of Byzantium,

Alexios III, to whom Innocent wrote xiii Nov. 1199,²⁸ was meditating a war of conquest against the King of Cyprus, instead of one of aggression on the Saracenic states. The Republic of Saint Mark was finding trade with the Infidel far more profitable than any war, in however good a cause. The only bright spot which shone through the

²⁸ Tom. 1. *Reg. Inn. PP. III Ex Archivis.* No. cccxxxix, p. xcvi, part of 1st and 2nd sheet.

IMPERIALIS EXCELLENTIE magnitudo si se coram humiliaverit qui humilia respicit et alta a longe cognoscit et super sui stabilierit imperii fundamentum preter quod aliud poni non poteat est Christus [Migne (of course) reads "ipse" instead of "Christus"] Iesus et super Quo Ipse Dominus Noster nascentis ecclesie posuit fundamentum. "Super hanc petram," inquiens "Edificabo ecclesiam Meam," exaltabitur et elevabitur quoniam omnis qui se humiliat exaltabitur secundum testimonium veritatis et firmabitur et non flectetur quoniam edificium quod super hoc fundamentum consistet nec casum timet nec ad machinas formidat hostiles . . . Cum enim Dominus Noster unam Sibi sponsam elegerit non habentem maculam neque rugam iuxta quod in Canticis protestatur [the MSS. reads "ptest," the abbreviation for "ro" being omitted] "una est," inquiens "dilecta Mea sponsa columba Mea" et in evangelio dicet "alias oves Habeo que non sunt ex hoc ovili et illas oportet Me adducere ut fiat unum ovile et unus Pastor." Cum etiam in consutilis tunica Christi divisa non fuerit et in simbolo contineatur expresse Credo Unam Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam Grecorum populi ab unitate Apostolice Sedis et Romane Ecclesie recedentes que disponentes Domino cunctorum mater est et magister sibi aliam ecclesiam confinxerunt si tamen que preter unam est ecclesia sit dicenda.

Ut igitur utroque predictorum murmur Christiani imo ut Christum tibi reddas propicium celsitudinem tuam Rogamus Monemus et Exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem Iniungimus peccatorum quatenus propositis aliis sollicitudinibus viriliter ac potenter assurgas in adiutorium Iesu Christi et ad terram illam [Migne reads "ipsam" instead of "illam"] quam Ipse Proprio Sanguine comparavit. De qua in Psalmo habetur "Homo factus est in ea et Ipse fundavit eam Altissimus" et alibi "Deus Rex Noster ante secula operatus est salutem" in medio ferre liberandum de manibus paganorum et restituendam pristine libertati ut in ea Nomen Domini glorificetur

mist of Christian rivalries was that the great leaders of the Saracens Salah-ed-din and Nur-ed-din were dead, and that their successor Seif-ed-din was not Soldan of an united Islam.

However, nothing daunted, the Lord Innocent, overburthened though He was with the affairs of The Church and The Empire, set Himself wholeheartedly to the task of preparing a Crusade. It was a labour of love, prosecuted without wavering. His first efforts met with little response: princes and peoples alike turned a deaf ear. It was almost in vain that the Pope devised means of collecting funds for the sacred cause. The fire of enthusiasm which had lighted former Crusades had degenerated into the merest flicker, and the Pope had to seek a latter-day Peter the Hermit to revive the dying embers. He found him in

in secula sicut tantus princeps manum extendas et exercitum dirigas copiosum sperans in Eo Qui est Spes omnium Qui non deserit sperantes in Se quod paganorum multitudinem a facie tui exercitus effugabit. Nos enim remissionis et protectionis quam profetur hoc aliis principibus Christianis Indulsimus te Volumus esse partipem dum modo ad succursum terre sancte potenter assurgas studeas etiam imo sicut potes efficias ut Grecorum ecclesia redeat ad Sedis Apostolice unitatem et ad matrem filia [it seems to show a lack of historical perspective to invite the Orthodox Church to consider itself to be the daughter of the Latin Church], revertatur, ut oves Christi ab uno pastore regantur sicut Ei mandatur a Domino: "Si [Migne omits "Si"] diligis Me Symon Petre pasce oves Meas" ut et sub uno capite cuncta membra corporis [Migne reads "corpori"] connectantur illo videlicet cui Dominus ait "Tu vocaberis Cephas" quod caput interpretatur.

[The letter bearing the date xi Nov. 1199 to the Patriarch Ioannes X Kamtera is written in the same tone, makes use of the same arguments, and quotes the same texts.]

Foulques de Neuilly, a parish priest whose new-found eloquence was exciting all who heard him. A pontifical commission to preach the crusade started this tolutiloquent fugleman on a missionary journey through France and Flanders. His success became notable and bred further success: the Counts of Champagne, Blois, and Lyonnais, the bishops of Soissons and Troyes, Simon de Montfort, Jean de Brienne, Mathieu de Montmorency, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Lord of Joinville and some threescore lesser lords, volunteered from France.¹¹ The Pope ingeniously used the interdict which lay upon that country as a means of obtaining money for the crusade: Mass might be celebrated in such places whence contributions for that object were forthcoming.

In the north, the turbulent Count Baldwin of Flanders became aware that King John Soft-sword's was not a stable (and therefore a satisfactory) alliance against King Philip the August; and he took the Cross, seemingly to avoid fresh difficulties with France. Minor men in multitudes came from the same region, such as the Counts of Boulogne and St. Pol, and Nicholas de Mailly.

The Pope's joy at this small response to His exhortations did not blind Him to the question of ways and means. Tournaments, the wearing of furs and versicoloured clothes, were forbidden on the ground of their expense. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians as well as the secular

clergy of France were pressed for a new *dime saladine*: secular taxation of absent crusaders was stopped: money was extracted from Jews by the fashionable methods of the age: clerks were permitted to mortgage three years' revenues of their benefices; and the laity were excused the interest due on debts. Negotiations were concluded with the maritime republics of Italy—excepting Pisa and Genoa, neither of which could be employed without offending the other. Amalfi had largely fallen into the sea and decrepitude; and so was unable to make any tender. A mercantile contract with the Venetians was drawn up and accepted; whereby the crusaders undertook to pay, as fares, a great deal more money than they were ever likely to possess, i.e. 85,000 marks, which Hürter (in 1830) calculates as being equal to £750,000 sterling. According to the *Codex Diplomaticus* of Hungary it appears that the entire revenues of that kingdom at the time of the Fourth Crusade were no more than 166,000 silver marks. Consequently these Crusaders agreed to pay, as passage-money, a sum nearly equal to half the annual income of a considerable kingdom. The Venetians undertook, for this sum, to convey 4000 knights and horses, with their 9000 squires and 20,000 infantry, and to feed their convoy for nine months. The Pope, however, pleased at the apparently approaching realization of His dreams, approved: but He stipulated that no operations

against Christians were to be undertaken by this expedition. Events shewed His suspicions of the Venetians implied by this condition to be only too well founded.

The principal personages (excluding, of course, the Venetians) who took part in the Fourth Crusade, were Count Thibaut of Champagne, Marquess Boniface of Montferrat (afterwards King of Thessalonika), Count Baldwin IX of Flanders (afterwards Emperor of Romania), Henry, brother of the last (and his successor in the Romanian Empire), Eustace, brother of the preceding, Jean de Brienne (afterwards King of Jerusalem and later still Emperor of Romania), Gaultier, his brother (afterwards Count of Lecce and Prince of Taranto), Geoffrey de Villehardouin (afterwards Lord of Messinople and Marshal of Romania), and his nephew (both afterwards Princes of Akhaia), Simon de Montfort (afterwards Count of Toulouse), the Count of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, the Count of Lyon, the Count of Perche, the Count of Malaspina, Gaultier de Montpellier (afterwards Constable of Romania), the Lords of Joinville, Dampierre, Laval, Béthune, and Frouville, the Bishops of Soissons, Halberstadt, Bethlehem, and Troyes, Nicholas de Mailly, Milo de Brabant, Guillaume de Champlitte (afterwards Prince of Akhaia), Othon de la Roche (afterwards Megaskyr of Athens), Manasses de Lille, Jacques d'Avesnes, Guy de Nesle, (afterwards Baron of Geraki),

Bernard de Montmirail, Gaultier de Cardoville, Mathieu de Montmorency, and Jean de Neuilly (afterwards Lord of Passavant and Marshal of Akhaia).

The Count of Champagne, the leader of the crusade, died before it started ; and the Marquess Boniface of Montferrat (brother of Konrad of evil memory) was elected leader in his stead. After ceaseless and heart-breaking delays, the crusade at last left Venice on viii Oct. 1202, with the avowed intention of fleshing its swords upon the Christian town of Zara in Dalmatia. This unholy scheme was brought about by the poverty and improvidence of the crusaders (who gave all that they had, and all that they could borrow,) and also by the unchristian cupidity of the banausically-minded Republic of Saint Mark : for, in spite of every effort and heroic financial sacrifices, the necessary payments, without which the Venetians refused to carry out their contract, were short by 34,000 marks.

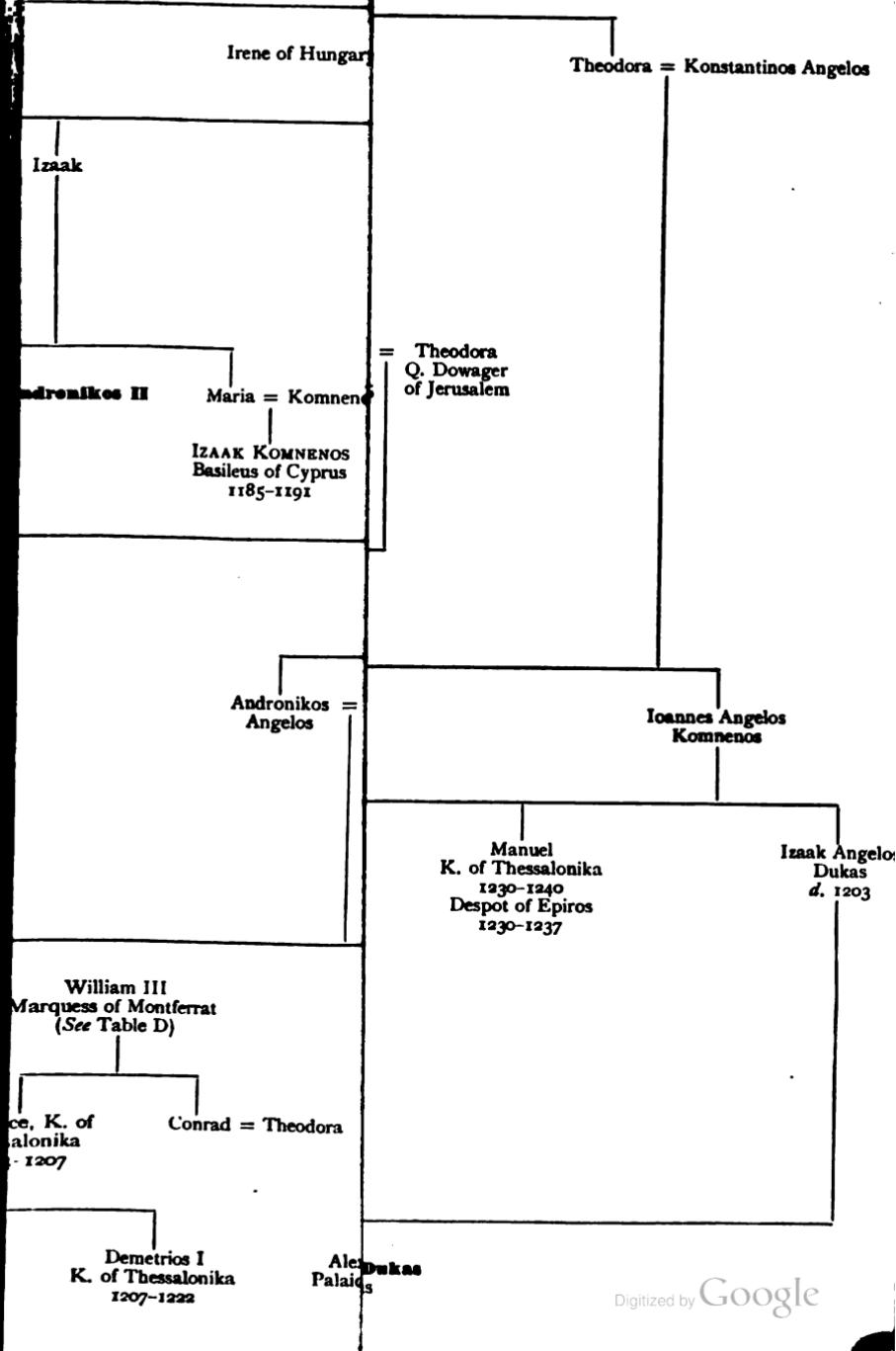
The unhappy crusaders had been dumped upon the island of San Stefano, and treated very much as though they were prisoners. Rumours flew about that the Saracen Soldan Seif-ed-din was offering great privileges to the Doge Dandolo, to bribe him into diverting the course of the Crusade. And so the Venetians proposed to their debtors the reduction of the revolted seaport of Zara, as a means of fulfilling their obligations. The Pope was advised

of this, probably by German pilgrims, who (disgusted at the prospect of becoming mercenaries of Saint Mark) tried to make their way to the Holy Land from other ports. The Lord Innocent promptly sent Cardinal Pietro I of Capua,²⁹ presbyter of the Title of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, with legatine powers, to try to dissuade the Venetians and the crusaders from the Dalmatian objective. Those tradespeople, however, received him with scant courtesy, refusing to let him accompany the army in an official capacity; and his efforts to divert the expedition to an attack on Alexandria completely failed. As a last resource the Pope threatened the Crusade with general and particular excommunication if it should dare to act against any Christians whatsoever and especially against the Zarantines. But the crusaders, desperate from want of money, from starvation consequent upon the high prices in Venice, and sick of delay and uncertainty, accepted the Venetian terms: and (viii Oct. 1202) sailed blindly into the excommunication, and took Zara for their employers on xviii Nov. 1202, a fitting beginning for an expedition which covered the name of Crusade with disgrace, destroyed an ancient and Christian empire amid scenes of appalling barbarity and heathenish vandalism, and rendered itself ridiculous by the absurd simulacra of respectable institutions, which it set up haphazard in

²⁹ His nephew Pietro II succeeded him in his benefices.

a feeble attempt to replace the orderly (if archaic) structure of the Byzantine Empire.

It may as well be said (with a wet finger) that the Fourth Crusade was (from the very beginning) an essentially artificial movement, germinated under the exotic emotionalism of Foulques de Neuilly's *fervorini*, and nourished at Venice by the peddling hucksters of that city for their own aggrandisement. The unhappy movement disgraced itself more and more at every step. Zara fell; and the crusaders, ring-led by the nose, were carried on to Byzantium with the object of unseating a more than usually odious usurper, the incapable Basileus Alexios III Angelos (*soidisant*, after the manner of that period, Komnenos) in favour of his brother the ex-Basileus Izaak II (whom he had deposed and blinded) and his nephew Alexios IIII. The wretched Basileus allowed himself to be frightened out of impregnable Byzantium after a nine days' siege. The Venetians and their tame Latins entered, in the names of the restored joint Basileis. Of course the restoration was conditional. The Venetians were to have trade privileges which would make them commercial despots; and the Latins were to have the obedience of the East to the Holy See to offer as a sop to the Cerberus of the Seven Hills—a gift which must have been singularly unpleasing to Pope Innocent, Who had hoped to achieve this end by diplomacy, and was keenly aware of the value of compulsory adhesion



to the dogma of pontifical supremacy. Alexios the Third, after his deposition, maintained himself as Basileus at Hadrianopolis for some years; and incited the Sultan Gajat-ed-din against Theodoros I Laskaris of Nikaia, his son-in-law, in hope of regaining his lost empire. But he was at length captured, and died, like many of his predecessors, a monk.

As was to be expected, Greeks and Latins could not exist side by side in peace. Quarrels of individuals and quarrels of crowds became the order of the day. The hasty action of some Flemings, who (bubbling over with Christian bigotry and a lust for loot) had burned the Saracen mosque, which Greek toleration permitted to exist in the city, led to a massacre of resident Latins and a nine days' conflagration, devastating a considerable part of the five²⁰ regions into which Byzantium was divided. Thus was extinguished all hope of the maintenance of a good understanding between conquered and conquerors.

The blind Basileus Izaak was in a premature dotage, the result of his affliction and twenty years' semi-starvation in a dungeon. He became querulous, and suspicious of the son whom he could never see: he objected to the presence of the Latins, whom he regarded (not without cause) as idolaters: he was bitterly opposed to

²⁰ Gibbon says eight—of which the Venetians obtained three as their share in the partition.

the (to him) new-fangled notions of obedience to Rome; and his bigoted hatred of the heterodox, coupled with his patriotic and comprehensible mistrust of the Venetians, caused him to forget a proper gratitude for his deliverance from bondage by Latin hands. The dual sebastocracy was not a success: for, while the elder Basileus roused the suspicions of the Latins by his hostile babblings, the younger disgusted the Greeks by his pro-romanism. Popular irritation against the romanizing friend of the Latins came to a head when (at the end of Jan. 1204) the Byzantine mob got out of hand; and compelled a well-dressed young man, named Nikolaos Kanabos, to accept the dangerous honour of the purple buskins. This did not at all suit the book of one of the court officials, a certain Alexios Dukas, called Murtzuphos, or "shaggy-eyebrows." He had held a command under Alexios the Third, in which he gained some small military reputation; and, in 1203, had all but succeeded in burning the Latin fleet. Wishing to better his position as protovestiaros of the palace, he collected his adherents: spread the report that Alexios the Fourth had betrayed the city to the barbarians; and, by a trick, succeeded in obtaining possession of the younger Basileus, whom he at once imprisoned. A similar fate befel the unwilling competitor for the Basilicate, Kanabos: while the aged Izaak is said to have died of fright on

hearing of the sudden reverse in his but newly altered fortunes.

Dukas then donned the purple buskins as Basileus Alexios the Fifth ; and enthusiastic Greeks hailed him as the saviour of his country. With extreme boldness, coupled with extremely Oriental duplicity, he once more attempted the destruction of the Latin fleet ; and laid a trap for the princes, trying to persuade them to a conference in the palace by stating that he wished to make certain promised payments. The Doge Dandolo in his youth had been an envoy to the Byzantine court ; and no doubt remembered its treacherous proclivities—he had been blinded there in 1173, a fact which may account for much of his bitterness against the Greeks. He however saw through Dukas ; and warned the Latins. This so exasperated the usurper that he strangled the unfortunate Alexios the Fourth, after having beaten in his ribs with a mace, viii Feb. 1204.

The Latins, beset with dangers, were compelled to act with the vigour of desperation : although in the heart of a hostile country, they besieged a hitherto impregnable capital ; and, in two months, by constant attack, reduced it. On the night of viii April, the reign of Alexios V Dukas ended (as it had begun) in floods of blood. Niketas and Villehardouin tell us that he escaped with the Basilissa Euphrosyne (his mother-in-law) to the court of Alexios the Third, where,

after a short interval of treacherous friendship, he was blinded by his predecessor, who then turned the miserable wretch out to wander in darkness and despair. In an attempt to reach Asia, he was caught by the Latins, and flung from the summit of the Column of Theodosius, a doom which had been predicted by the poet Tzetzes, half a century before.³¹ He may have been a criminal, or he may have been a patriot: he was without doubt a very violent man, a forceful ruler, and a sharp thorn to the Latins.

This is not the place to expatiate upon the size, beauty, wealth, or importance of Byzantium as it was before the Sack, or upon the horrors of that Sack. It will suffice to say that the Latins behaved like Hunnish barbarians; and succeeded in achieving a ruin comparable only to that wrought by the Romans in Jerusalem, the Arabs in Alexandria, or the Constable de Bourbon's troops in Rome. They were bewildered by the wealth which they found; and childish superstitions usurped the realm of sane judgment: priceless objects of real intrinsic worth were heedlessly destroyed, while the most incredible relics were zealously preserved. Beside the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns (afterwards pawned to

³¹ In passing one would like to point out that the Byzantines invariably discovered (generally after the event) that every important occurrence had been predicted at some time or another by a monk or a poet. A prediction to them was as necessary for the completion of an event as is a record thereof to us.

—EMPIRE OF ROMAN

VI = Adelaide, d. of Humbert II
France Count of Maurienne

Theodoric of Alsace = Sibylle Plantagenet
Count of Flanders Fulk V, Count of
and K. of Jersey

Baldwin V, Count = Margaret, Count
of Hainault of Flanders
1171-1195 d. 1194

= Isabelle Henry = Alice, d.
Emperor K. of T
1206-1216 (See

Guy, Count
of Flanders

Geoffrey II de = Agnes
Villehardouin d. 1247 Endre II
Pr. of Achaea King of
Hungary

the Venetians and sold by them to Saint Louis) some clothes of the Blessed Virgin, a tooth of Our Lord, His baby-linen, the identical Cup used at the Last Supper, part of the Bread broken thereat, a tooth of Saint John Baptist, an arm of Saint Stephen, and the entire body of Saint Andrew (now at Amalfi, except the head which was taken to Rome in the reign of Pope Innocent the Eighth), were cherished by blood-stained fanatics.

The Sack being ended, the Latins set about erecting some form of government in place of the departed Greek rule. Twelve Electors, six Latin prelates³² and six Venetian nobles,³³ after nearly offering the Crown to the Doge Dandolo, finally (xvi May) decided upon Count Baldwin of Flanders for the newly invented dignity of Emperor of Romania. He was crowned with Byzantine rites three weeks later, in Sancta Sophia: which cathedral, together with the right of nominating a Latin Patriarch, now belonged to the Venetians, as part of the bargain whereby it was stipulated that the latter and the Latins should divide the Empire and the Patriarchate between the two parties. The Venetians appointed

³² Jean the Elect-archbishop of Acre, the Bishops Garnier of Troyes, Nivelon de Cherisy of Soissons, Pierre elect of Bethlehem, and Konrad of Halberstadt (a German), and Pietro Abbot of Loca in Lombardy.

³³ Vitale Dandolo, Ottone Querini, Bertuccio Contarini, Nicolo Navagero, Pantaleone Barbo, and Giovanni Baleggio.

Tommaso de' Morosini; and the Lord Innocent confirmed him in his position. The chiefs of the Latins were rewarded with fiefs under the new empire. Boniface of Montferrat got the kingdom of Thessalonika, to which he considered himself entitled as heir to his brother Rainer, titular king thereof in right of his wife Maria, daughter to the late Basileus Manuel I Komnenos: Othon de la Roche, a lordship of Athens: Guillaume de Champlite, a principality of Akhaia: and two Venetians became Duke and Admiral of Naxos and Lemnos respectively. A host of smaller lordships, Thebes, Nauplia, Andros, etc., satisfied smaller ambitions; and the new empire launched out into war: for Basileus Alexios III was threatening the capital from Hadrianopolis.

If the Latins thought that the capture of Byzantium would put an end to Greek opposition, they were very soon undeceived. The sebastocracy, beheaded in its capital, sprang, hydra-like, into existence elsewhere. Beside Alexios III at Hadrianopolis, another Alexios, of the House of Komnenos, proclaimed himself at Trebizond: an Angelos (Mikhael I) aspired to the purple buskins in Epiros; and Theodoros I Laskaris, was saluted (after a short period of nominal viceroyalty on behalf of his father-in-law Alexios III) as Basileus at Nikaia, beside smaller men at Herakleia, Rhodes, Apron, Lakedaimon, and Nauplia. The magic name of the Roman Empire

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had in fact become quite cheap—two princes in the West, and no less than five in the East, laid claim to it. After this, any man might hope to die a Roman Emperor.

It was fortunate that Pope Innocent the Third was at a distance from Byzantium—and also unfortunate: fortunate—in that He could not see the horrors and ruin of the Sack,—unfortunate in that He could not be kept immediately advised of all that happened. Important letters (for the Basileus Alexios IIII) arrived from Rome the day after that prince was murdered: while others (urging the Latins to abstain from fresh hostilities) only arrived in the middle of the siege. The Pope, recognizing that what was done could not be undone, made the best of the new Latin empire and patriarchate. Though He was not particularly pleased with the appointment of Morosini, He confirmed that Patriarch rather than have the distressful country without constituted ecclesiastical authority: for it was full time that there should be a high ecclesiastical authority on the spot to curb the thievish tendencies of all the Latin 'princes' (from the emperor to the Lord of Thebes) toward Church property. The Lord Innocent had to write letter after letter to these demoralized potentates, the burthen of which was always "Respect Church property": excepting when the princes shewed themselves to be at all penitent, and then the charge would

change to "Restore Church property which you have stolen."⁴⁴ Sometimes a Prince would be so far restored to grace that the Pope could urge him to pay tithes with some hope of success,⁴⁵ and there are letters even, written to pious crusading lords, impressing upon them the duty of maintaining at their own expense clerical vicars in the livings of which they were lay rectors.⁴⁶

It must have been exasperating in a high degree for the Pope, when the blundering Emperor Baldwin I bolted off at random to fight those very Bulgarians, who had shewn themselves so amenable to pontifical diplomacy. All the Lord Innocent's cherished schemes for maintaining the union of Bulgaria with the Catholic Church were defeated by the Flemish emperor's ponderous efforts to protect his nascent realm from the Tsar Kaloyan. His expedition very properly ended in captivity; and the Pope, Who had been accustomed to write as a spiritual father and superior to the obsequious but observant and wide-awake Bulgar, was reduced (xvi Aug. 1205) to ask the foolish emperor's life and liberty as a favour from the exulting barbarian—and to remain calm when this request was refused. The extreme bitterness of all His subsequent letters to the Venetians is very well to be understood, seeing that He was

⁴⁴ Letter to Lord of Thebes, xiiii July 1208.

⁴⁵ Letter to Megaskyr of Athens, xxiiii Jan. 1209.

⁴⁶ Letter to Archbishop of Athens, viiiii Mar. 1210.

human, and regarded them as the source and origin of all the misfortunes of His once cherished Crusade. The Latin conquest of part of the East, instead of lightening, materially increased the Pope's cares. Hitherto, an occasional letter,²⁷ or a long drawn and intermittent negotiation, had been all that had affected Him from that quarter. Now, each petty prince needed as much paternal advice as the most outrageous western sovereign ; and the Church in Romania required a great deal more pontifical protection and attention than did the bishops of the Toulousain. The Venetians too, (very high and mighty since their Doge bore the title of Lord of a Quarter-and-Half-of-a-Quarter of the Roman Empire,²⁸ and enjoyed the whole of the commerce thereof) had to be looked after. Their tendencies, which were ever more and more to place filthy lucre before Christianity, and trade before the maintenance of those pathetic morsels of Palestine, had to be kept within due bounds.

As, however, it was a case of *quae cum ita sint*, the Lord Innocent did His duty by the Latin Empire as best He could. He took special charge of the interests of the Church, which must have been still largely served by orthodox papas, as we are unable to trace any sufficiently large influx of Latin clerks to take their places. The Pope wrote frequently on the subject of

²⁷ Cf. note 28.

²⁸ "Dominus quartae partis et dimidiae Imperij Romani."

the validity of Orthodox Orders which He expressly acknowledged,³⁹ but insisted that all future ordinations or consecrations of Greek clerks should follow the Latin Rite.⁴⁰ He tried to reduce the lamentable divisions among the local *imperatunculi* of the East. In all good faith He wrote, xvii Mar. 1208, to Theodoros I Laskaris, Basileus in Nikaia, urging him to surcease from stiff-neckedness, and to acknowledge the Latin emperor of Romania as the legitimate successor of Justinian, and his lawful sovereign. This must have been a curious letter to be received at the court of Nikaia, (which was Byzantine in all save geographical position) by a prince who was certain in his own heart that he was the one and only Autocrat of All the Romans. The Pope was also moved to protest to the Despot Mikhael Komnenos of Epiros against his treatment of the Archbishop of Durazzo, and to desire him to leave that prelate in peace.⁴¹ The conquest, however, had one good result beside that produced by the scattering of objects and evidences of Byzantine civilization over the avid West. A very large tract of country, hitherto closed to the great Orders, now lay open to them. Estates, which they never could have possessed before, now became theirs; and helped

³⁹ Letters to Patriarch of Constantinople, viii Mar. 1208.

⁴⁰ Letter to Archbishop of Larissa, iiiii Oct. 1208.

⁴¹ Letter, xvii Aug. 1209.

to defray the cost of their unequal but perpetual warfare against the Infidel.

It seems, however, that the Latin princes (probably still under the influence of the spiritual disquiet produced by the major excommunication), when they first entered upon their new sovereignties, made lavish gifts to the Templars in the shape of lands and churches. It was a case of giving in haste, and repenting at leisure; for, from the numerous letters written by the Pope upon the subject to the Patriarch Tommaso, to the Emperor Henry, to the Constable of Romania, and to the lesser offenders, one of the most salient vices of the Latin lords seems to have been that of stealing back the lands which they had given to the Templars. But as these latter were usually quite capable of looking after their own property [more particularly when the peculators were such small fry as the Lord of Thebes, or the Lord of Soule (Syla)], it might seem that the Templars had bitten off more land in the Morea and Romania than they could chew; and, so, afforded filching princes an opportunity of snapping up what they hoped would be unconsidered trifles.

Again too, the Pope set Himself seriously to organize a Latin Hierarchy throughout the newly conquered East. In general, He followed Greek traditions and established a Latin archbishop in every Orthodox metropolitical see. The Lord Innocent expressly directed that the Latin arch-

bishops of Akhaia should enjoy precisely the same plethora or dearth of suffragans as had their Greek predecessors,⁴² and refused to allow any change to be made in the boundaries of dioceses.⁴³ Furthermore He kept up a system of steady supervision over the ecclesiastical affairs of Romania in general. We find Him making the Latin prelates act in unison to extract tithes from Venetians,⁴⁴ to exact obedience from foreign clerks,⁴⁵ and to compel laymen (notably the widowed Queen of Thessalonika) and dishonest bishops to disgorge stolen Church property.⁴⁶ In Akhaia, the Pope used the Hospitallers as tithe-collectors⁴⁷; and from time to time found Himself obliged to take individual churches, or even entire sees, under protection as a means of saving them from rapacious laymen.⁴⁸ On other occasions He had to chide the Bishops of Akhaia for excessive eagerness to excommunicate, and for allowing their soldiery to annoy clerks.⁴⁹ In addition to these political and semi-political measures, which the Lord Innocent was compelled to take by reason of the indiscipline into which the Latins (as ever in the East) fell in Romania, He also considered it to be His duty to adjust the differ-

⁴² Letter to Archbishop of Athens xxvii Nov. 1206.

⁴³ Letter to Bishops of Akhaia xxv Mar. 1210.

⁴⁴ Letter to Bishop of Gallipoli xii Mar. 1208.

⁴⁵ Letter to Patriarch of Constantinople xxv Apr. 1208.

⁴⁶ Letter to Archbishops of Patras and Thebes xxiii Jan. 1209.

⁴⁷ Letter to Archbishop of Athens x Oct. 1208.

⁴⁸ Letter to Canons of Thebes xxiii Jan. 1209.

⁴⁹ Letter to Archbishop of Patras xxii Mar. 1210.

ences between bishops and their chapters,⁵⁰ to make arrangements whereby the cathedral services of ruined dioceses might be kept up and the poverty of the Church tided over.⁵¹ On the other hand He would not allow undue exactions to be made on Orthodox monasteries which seemingly were not to be suppressed;⁵² and He was particular to insist that the same liberties should be allowed to Greek clergy who joined the Roman Church as they had been accustomed to enjoy under the Orthodox regime.⁵³

Both the Lord Innocent and the new Latin empire were much vexed by the Venetians' behaviour with regard to their treaty rights concerning appointment to ecclesiastical benefices. The Republic of Saint Mark insisted upon preferring Venetians only; and, to such an extent did they push their monopoly that at last the Patriarch Tommaso (himself a Venetian) protested energetically: complained to the Pope; and refused to appoint any more Venetians. It is worth noting that he had been compelled to promise to appoint none but Venetians; and, though the Pope absolved him from the promise as being contrary to the interests of the Church, the Venetians had contrived to hold him to it for quite a long time. Now at last his sense of decency overcame his

⁵⁰ Letter to Archbishop of Nazoresca xxiiii Jan. 1209.

⁵¹ Letter to Bishop of Daulis vi Feb. 1209.

⁵² Letter to Bishop of Thermopylai xxxi Mar. 1210.

⁵³ Letter to Bishop of Kardia xxix Mar. 1210.

national prejudices. Matters were a little mended by his action: but, unfortunately, after excommunicating King Levon of Armenia for robbing the Templars, he died, in June 1211, at Thessalonika. The election of his successor was the signal for a fresh display of greed and international bickering. The Venetians tried by force to secure a patriarch of their own: the Latins relied upon an appeal to Rome in favour of their candidate. The Pope, however, quashed both elections; and sent a legate to insist upon an unanimously supported patriarch. Nothing could be decided. The Latins called the Archbishop of Herakleia patriarch, while the Venetians decorated the parish priest of their own quarter with the same title. The see, therefore, was vacant from 1211-1215, i.e., until the assembling of the Lateran Council, which, after solemnly settling the precedence to be enjoyed by future patriarchs of Constantinople, petitioned the Pope to nominate a prelate and determine the vacancy. In consequence, one Gervais, a simple Tuscan priest, was made patriarch of Constantinople out of the Plenitude of the Apostolic Power; and the Council congratulated itself upon the permanent subordination of the Eastern Church to Rome, quite regardless of the fact that there was a Greek patriarch, Maximos II, of Byzantium, who lived at Nikaia, and was far more really the representative of the Orthodox Church than was a Latin curate out of Tuscany.

The Fourth Crusade brought no honour to³⁶ Innocent the Third. He seems to have been glad to escape from the shameful position in which it had placed Him, by pretending to draw pleasure from the facts that a Latin patriarchate was established on the ruins of schismatic Byzantium, and that the Latin Mass was sung in *Sancta Sophia* amid the smoke and dust of the collapse of Christendom's last Eastern bulwark against the advancing foes of Christianity and civilization. In the Bull *Legimus in Daniele* He expressed the hope that Byzantium which is "defendendum et retinendum," would afford a *point d'appui* for a successful Crusade into the Holy Land (vii-xiii Nov. 1204). How bitterly He was disappointed all history shews. To the Fourth Crusade is due the presence of the Turk in Stamboul—and Innocent the Third originated the Fourth Crusade. Happily for His memory, the Pope was not wholly responsible for the mischievous havoc wrought by His Frankenstein. He was vilely served. As a far-seeing statesman none could regret more keenly than He the substitution, as the shield of Europe, of the pasteboard Latin empire for the tried mail of the Greek. As a far-seeing Churchman none could perceive more clearly than He that the establishment of a Latin Hierarchy throughout the Empire of Romania was only a conquest from and in no way a conquest of Orthodoxy.

CHAPTER V

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND SICILY

Innocent, Suzerain of Sicily—Meaning of pontifical primacy—Innocent's Own conception of His office—The Sicilian Question—Innocent's unique relation to Sicily—Cause of Sicilian trouble—1198, King Frederick II, aged four—The Bull *Et Zizania*—Markwald's case, and supporters—Markwald takes the field—Innocent's opposition—Markwald's success—Innocent denounces him—his first excommunication and failure in Apulia—he would bribe Innocent—Who rejects such offers—Markwald unconditionally submits—but tries treachery—Aug. 1199, Markwald's second excommunication—he becomes a brigand—Complications, Gaultier de Brienne—Innocent's dilemma—Investiture of Gaultier de Brienne—Excellent results thereof—Chancellor Walther excites Markwald—Markwald's Saracen ally—Siege of Palermo—Pontifical and Royalist victory—Flight of Markwald—his recovery—quarrels with the Chancellor—who is blamed by the Pope—1201, Rebel defeat at Barletta—1202, Death of Markwald—Capparone rebels—Marriage of Frederick—Pisan interference—1205, Gaultier de Brienne killed by Diopold of Acerra—who is reconciled—as is Capparone—1208, Frederick, aged 14, begins to reign—Otto invades Sicily—1212, Frederick, aged 18, elected Roman Emperor—Summary

IT has been asserted that though the Apostolic See was defeated (in the military sense) at the battle of Benevento, it really won a great diplomatic victory in securing the feudal suzerainty over the kingdom of Sicily: but it is possible that this gain was not so valuable as it has been deemed. Apart from the amount of the tribute,

the "Chinea," which was more nominal than real, the incessant and inextricable difficulties in which the suzerainty perpetually plunged the Papacy, rendered it at one time a Wooden Horse of Ilion and at another a Box of Pandora. It is customary to allege that the Popes have never been backward in asserting or inventing claims to every sort of imaginable right when it has been to Their advantage so to do. This allegation is due either to ignorance, or to misunderstanding of the pontifical position as conceived by the Roman Pontiffs Themselves. When the historian realizes, as the Popes Themselves undoubtedly realized, and realize, the gist of the plain unvarnished (and yet enormous) charge addressed to Them in Their coronation office, and the exact signification of the same, "*Accept the tiara, and know that Thou art Father of princes and kings, Ruler of the world and on earth Vicar of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*"⁴⁴—as well as of other official and public and accepted epithets used by and in description of the Papacy and its prerogatives—e.g. "Supreme Pontiff," "Plenitude of Apostolic Power,"—it may as well be conceded, that (if words mean anything) no one has a right to be surprised, or to attribute undue or overpretentious arrogance to Peter's Successors, when They act absolutely and autocratically on the

⁴⁴ *Accipe tiaram, et scias Te esse Patrem principum et regum, Rectorem orbis, in terra Vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesus Christi.*

strength of the absolute and autocratic right formally and solemnly conceded to Them by the perdurable consensus of the major part of Christendom. Innocent the Third's own conception of His supremacy over secular sovereigns was as clear as daylight. He defines it in an epistle dealing with the disputes of the kings of England and France. "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone; and, if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more; and, if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church: but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and a publican."¹⁵ Now," He proceeds, "the king of England maintains that the king of France, by enforcing the execution of an unjust sentence, has trespassed against him. He has therefore admonished him of his fault in the manner prescribed by the gospel; and, meeting with no redress, has (according to the direction of the same gospel) appealed to the Church. How then can We, whom Divine Providence has placed at the head of the Church, refuse to obey the Divine Command? How can We hesitate to proceed according to the form pointed out by Christ Himself? We do not arrogate to Ourself the right of judgment as to the fee: that belongs to the king of France. But We have a right to judge respecting the sin; and that right it

¹⁵ St. Matt. XVIII, 15-17.

is Our duty to exercise against the offender, be he who he may. By the imperial law it has been provided, that if one of two litigant parties prefer the judgment of the Apostolic See to that of the civil magistrate (apud Grat. caus. ii. 9. I. can. 35), the other shall be bound to submit to such judgment. But if We mention this, it is not that We found Our jurisdiction on any civil authority. God has made it Our duty to reprehend the man who falls into mortal sin; and (if he neglect Our reprobation) to compel him to amend by ecclesiastical censures. Moreover, both kings have sworn to observe the late treaty of peace, and yet Philip has broken that treaty. The cognizance of perjury is universally allowed to belong to the ecclesiastical courts. On this account therefore, We have also a right to call the parties before Our tribunal.”⁶⁶

Even had the Popes been free from the Sicilian incumbrance, they were quite likely—(as Fathers of kings and princes and Rulers of the world)—to make Their consent necessary to a successful tenure of the Sicilian crown by a layman. As things were, however, this weapon was one which could be made to cut both ways. It was sometimes contrary to Their interests, for example, to be obliged always to remember that the Kingdom was an appendage of the Patrimony, more particularly when it was a question of an Emperor becoming the Pope’s liegeman

⁶⁶ Cap. Novit. 13, *de iudicis*, (cited by Lingard, II. 307).

for his extra-imperial southern dominions. This Sicilian question often demanded very subtle diplomacy. When the Pontiff happened to be a man-of-God rather than a man-of-the-world, it was apt to assume indeed the proportions of a white elephant, the ownership of which is supposed to be at once pleasing to the pride and ruinous to the purse and mental peace of the possessor. Innocent the Third, by a trick of fortune, was placed in a position toward His vassal which no other Pope has occupied before or since. He was at once Warden of the King and Protector of the Kingdom; and it speaks well for His high sense of duty that He took His charge so seriously as almost to despair of being able to devote sufficient attention to fulfilling the expectations of the Empress Constance, who had confided her child and his Kingdom to the Apostolic care.

Much of the Sicilian trouble was due to the Lord Innocent's action in deposing Markwald von Anweiler from the governorship of the March with which he had been invested by the late Emperor. This German, with singular pertinacity, ferocity, and cunning, had determined to carve for himself a principality; and to found a dynasty. Foreigners in all ages in Italy have entertained such ambitions: in the Twelfth Century adventurers pranced prospectively in every province. The fisherman in troubled waters of politics most frequently lands the best prizes; and the difficulties, into

which the minority of King Frederick—(crowned xvii May 1198 at the tender age of four)—and the non-residence of the Apostolic Warden and Protector plunged the Kingdom, seemed admirably suited for Markwald's purpose.

It is interesting to note that the very first Bull (after the one proclaiming His Own election) which the Lord Innocent issued, viiiii Jan. 1198, was *Et Zizania*. It announced His intention of weeding His fields, gathering the wheat into His garner, and burning up the tares (zizania) with the fire unquenchable of malediction ; and it was directed against Markwald. The deposed Marquess was supported by the chancellor, Bishop Walther of Troja, the Count Palear, and Count Diopold of Acerra ; and he produced a document, purporting to be the real will of the Empress Constance which appointed him tutor of Sicily and administrator of the Kingdom. Finding further support from the German lords of Molise, he marched across the peninsula to Monte Cassino : which, being a natural fortress of great strength, might be regarded as the key of Sicily within the Pharos.⁵⁷ This aggression of course

⁵⁷ When the kingdom of Sicily came to be divided into two states a little later in the 13th century the Monarchs of either part, claimed, kinglike, the whole title of Sicily. Consequently they were differentiated by their contemporaries by the qualification of "within" or "without the Pharos" according to the continentality or insularity of their dominions. The use of the phrase in the text which is anachronistic by about half a century may perhaps be excused as an intelligent anticipation.

could not be permitted; and the Lord Innocent dispatched His uncle, Lando di Montelongo, with 600 men, all He could raise at short notice, to oppose the Germans. At the same time, the Pope roused Umbria and the Marches in the German rear; and fulminated warnings to the Sicilians against Markwald,⁶⁸ and demands for help

* The following are some of the principal documents concerning Sicily and Markwald:—

In a letter from the Lateran dated Feb. 1199, addressed to the Archbishops of Palermo, Capua, Reggio, and Monreale, and the Bishop of Troia, chancellor of The Kingdom. (The Archbishop of Messina is omitted as he was in rebellion at the time.)

“Constantia* Imperatrix Friderici Siciliae Regis tutelam et regni balium Nobis testamento reliquit et Nos super utroque ab omnibus assecurari mandavit . . . cum Marcovaldus persecutor regni non dormiat sed regnum perturbare molliatur. . . . Precavete vobis et regno ab insidiis Marcovaldi qui licet aliud mentiatur regnum tamen non regi sed sibi usurpare contendit.”—*Reg. I. 564.*

In a letter of the same date to the Clergy, Barons, Judges, Soldiers and whole populace of Capua.

“Si opus esset eandem peccatorum remissionem Concederemus omnibus qui Marcovaldi et suorum violentiam expugnarent quam Concedimus omnibus qui contra Sarracenorum perfidiam ad defensionem orientalis provincie accinguntur.”—*Reg. I. 558.*

In a letter dated between March and August 1199, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors and whole Clergy of Calabria and Apulia.

“Expunite singulis et per universam parochiam vestram faciatis exponi tyranidem Marcovaldi cuius consilio nobiles vestri passi

* Constance was daughter of Ruggiero the late king of the legitimate Norman line. A professed nun, she was taken by force from her convent to marry the Emperor Henry VI. She was fifty years old at the time and “because it was not believed that she could bear at that age, she was delivered in a pavilion; and it was given out that any lady who pleased might see her. Many came and saw her and the suspicion ceased.”—*Malaspina in Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. viii 939.*

to the Rectors of Tuscany. This shews that He took the German at his own valuation ; and prepared for his destruction accordingly.

At first, success leaned towards Markwald : the fort of San Germano guarding the approach to Monte Cassino surrendered, and he proceeded to sit down before the monastery, which very nearly

exilium et ferreis vinculis alligati. . . . Volumus nihilominus et sub eadem districione Mandamus ut ipsum et universos complices eius singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis pulsatis campanis et candelis extinctis excommunicatos publice nuntietis."

And in another letter Markwald is referred to—

"satis hactenus manus Teutonica regnum turbaverat . . . verum Marcovaldus Dei et ecclesie inimicus antiquus, regni Sicilie persecutor."

In a letter dated x Aug. 1199 to the Archbishops, Bishops, Counts, Barons, Citizens and whole Populace of The Kingdom (of Sicily).

"Excommunicamus et Anathematizamus ex parte Dei Omnipotens et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolum Eius auctoritate et Nostra Marcovaldum et omnes fautores eius, tam Teutonicos quam Latinos, specialiter Diopoldum, Othonem, Siffredum, et Othonem de Lavian, Hermanum, et Castellanum Sorelle, qui principaliter adherent Marcovaldo. . . . Forma receptionis haec fuit iuravit Marcovaldus publice sine pacto quolibet et tenore super crucem et evangelia quod super omnibus pro quibus excommunicatus existit sine fraude mandatis Nostris obediet universis quae sibi per Nos vel nuntios aut litteras Nostras duxerimus facienda. . . . Mandatum est ei sub debito praestiti ivramenti ut a ballo regni invasione quoque ac molestatione ipsius per se ac suos omnino desistat nec ipsum aut patrimonium beati Petri per se ac suos vel alium ullo modo molestet universa quae detinentur ab ipso restituat . . . sed ad vomitum rediens et volens adhuc in stercore suo computrescere ut iumentum Nobis post absolutionem quasdam Nobis litteras destinavit . . . Postmodum vero idem Marcovaldus Nobis litteras destinavit in quibus in manifestum sui periurii argumentum se balium et procuratorem regni Sicilie non erubuit nominare. . . . Nos igitur fraudem eius et versutias attendentes qui putavit Nos fallere sed potius se decepit omnia quae fuerant in forma excommunicationis prioris expresse . . . ipsum tanquam periurum sacrilegum incendi-

had to capitulate for want of water. But on xv Jan. 1198, a sudden storm filled the abbey tanks; and the Germans, whose position was hazardous, were compelled to raise the siege. This gave the signal for many of the southern lords to rally round the baby-king; and the Pope addressed a general epistle to the Sicilians urging them to oppose Markwald, by supporting their lawful sovereign against a foreigner guilty of the most atrocious crimes and cruelties: Markwald was to be treated as a Saracen, and therefore out of law: villages or provinces cursed by his presence were ipso facto to suffer interdict; and the Lord Innocent concluded by announcing the dispatch of money for the payment of troops acting against the bandit.

Markwald slipped into Apulia, demanding its obedience: but his failure at the petty siege was followed by the publication of his first excommunication, in which his companions "Germans as well as Latins" were anathematized *nominatim*. Markwald, who was aiming not merely at the Tutorship of Sicily, but at the very crown of The Kingdom, finding that the measures taken

arium perfidum sceleratum et invasorem Excommunicamus, Anatematizamus, et Damnamus."

*The letter concludes with a general warning to beware of
Markwald*

"qui sanguinem vestrum situnt et inducere vos nituntur in perpetuam servitutem."—From the Breve "*Exoptata Regni Tranquillitas*."

by the Pope were an insuperable obstacle to his success, now approached Innocent with propositions indicating how entirely he had mistaken his opponent's character. His simple Teutonic logic opined that a bribe might not be unacceptable to the Successor of the Colleague of Judas. And he approached the Pontiff's Holiness with a request that He would desist from opposing him in his designs on the throne of the boy-king, who was (so he offered to prove) not the son of the Emperor Henry VI and the Empress Constance at all, but a changeling. In return for this amenity he offered to pay 40,000 gold Sicilian *uncie*,⁶⁹ part in cash and part after the capture of Palermo, together with a double feudal tribute and increased right for the Holy See over The Kingdom; and lastly he offered to become liege-man and not merely vassal for his crown.

His proposition being rebuffed with the scorn which it deserved, the versatile and ingenious German expressed a desire for unconditional reconciliation. The Pope could not refuse assent to such a petition; but, suspecting treachery, He laid down very severe conditions. Markwald, after much demur and a well-wrapped-up and skilfully planned threat, accepted them; and protracted the negotiations with the legates who were charged to accept his submission. Meanwhile, however, he was writing numerous letters to

⁶⁹ The Sicilian *uncia* is a coin about the size of a half-guinea.

various personages in Germany and Italy, claiming all kinds of titles, and confessing the fictitiousness of his reconciliation with the Papacy. The Pope riposted with a fresh and more bitterly worded Bull of the Greater Excommunication on x Aug. 1199. Markwald, *ad vomitum rediens, et volens adhuc in stercore suo computrescere*, had to take the consequences ; and all Sicily was warned to beware of the man and his companions " who drink your blood and strive to bring you into perpetual slavery." ⁸⁰

After this exposure of his machinations Markwald made no more ado, but entered Sicily ; and set up as a brigand. This he was able to do almost with impunity, owing to the disorganization of the administration ; and beside he was secretly backed up by the chancellor Walther. This prelate was filled with ambition, which he was unable to gratify : even though he had practically supreme power in the realm, he desired the archbishopric of Palermo which carried with it the Sicilian primacy. The Pope, Whose only knowledge of the chancellor came through the Apostolic ablegates, was unwilling to grant his request at once : but would allow him (in his capacity as Chancellor of The Kingdom) to administer the archiepiscopal demesnes until sufficient data for a decision could be collected. Meanwhile

⁸⁰ "qui sanguinem vestrum sitiunt et inducere vos mituntur in perpetuam servitutem."

T

Henry I
Beaumont
1100-1135

Margaret
of Scotland

Emperor
11-1125

Matilda =
Geoffrey
C. of Anjou

= Schelgaita
of Salerno

Henry II
Fitzempress
1154-1189

Adele of Friesland
Queen Dowager
of Denmark

John =
Matilda
Plantagenet

WILLIAM I
K. of Sicily
1154-1166

Richard I
Lionheart
1189-1199

John

Roger III
D. of Apulia
1149-1161

Henry
Pr. of
d. 1180

Matilda
Plantagenet

OTTO III
Emperor
1198-1209-1218

ROGER II
K. of Sicily
1191-1193
= Irene, dau. of
Isaak II Angelos
Basileus of Byzantium
she remarried
Philip II
Elect-Emperor

William I
Hss. of Bouteon

William I
Ld. of Bouteon

the middle date given is that of

the Lord Innocent sent fresh forces under another of His uncles, Ottone di Palombara, to help King Frederick against Markwald.

But here a fresh complication arose. Count Gaultier de Brienne (who had married Albina, daughter of the bastard King Tancred of Sicily) arrived out of France; and claimed his father-in-law's principality of Taranto and county of Lecce, or an equivalent in money. Luchaire⁶¹ quotes the French chronicle of Bernard the Treasurer to suggest that the Pope had instigated and even financed this marriage, and further had financed the free-lance for the purpose of attracting a new interest to counteract the Germans. But, if this be so, Innocent thereby prepared for Himself the horns of a dilemma. If He allowed the claim, it might seem that He was letting a fair slice of His ward's kingdom slip through His fingers: if He refused to allow it, He might drive the claimant into open hostility and incur the accusation of denying justice. He took the only course which a decent man could take: invested Count Gaultier with his fiefs, taking his oath of allegiance to King Frederick: trusted him to keep his word; and sent him southward to become one of the chief supporters of the prince whom he might have dispossessed. Indeed, Count Gaultier's presence in Sicily was indirectly the means of saving the boy-king's life: for, later, when Markwald got

⁶¹ Luchaire, *Innocent III, Rome et l'Italie*, p. 178.

possession of Frederick, he refrained from killing him: such a crime being likely not so much to benefit the German, as to assist the not unreasonable claims of Gaultier de Brienne, who was a far more formidable antagonist than a boy at La Ziza by Palermo, or a Pope in distant Rome. The obsolescent Gregorovius, who (in his *Geschichte der Stadt Rom in Mittelalter*) never by any chance allows any virtuous action on the part of the Papacy excepting when teutonically inspired, naturally (as one would expect) jumps at the opportunity to become feverish concerning this instance of Innocent the Third's favour to a Frenchman. But surely the facts of the case, and the excellent results of His bold and honest action, sufficiently clear the Pope from insinuations of being disloyal to His trust and no true friend of King Frederick of Sicily by His acknowledgment of the Tancred claim.

The arrival of the new Count of Lecce was also a very serious thing for the wicked Chancellor, who had been largely instrumental in getting The Kingdom for the Emperor Henry VI, and therefore was exposed to the animosity of King Tancred's heir; and he seems to have urged Markwald to make his attempt earlier perhaps than the latter had intended. Beside the nobles, whom, (either by fear or favour) he had attached to his cause, Markwald was in conjunction with Magaddi the Emir of the Sicilian Saracens.

Having got into communication with traitors in the palace, he tried to surprise Palermo: but was unsuccessful. Nor was he any happier in his attempts at a siege: for, on the twentieth day, the Archbishop-Admiral of Naples arrived with a fleet; and the pontifical and royal armies made a sortie. In the battle which ensued, the Pope's persevering pains, in providing the young king with pontifical auxiliaries, were amply rewarded. The moral influence which the Lord Innocent also exerted, is shewn by the fact that the royal troops disdained to desert to Markwald on the explicit ground of his excommunication. They fought bravely: but, time and again, they were broken by the rebels; and had to re-form under cover of the pontifical lines. In the end the Germans made a false move; and the pontifical troops who were comparatively fresh, fell upon them, defeating them with great slaughter. Markwald fled, leaving the Saracen Emir dead on the field.

Chancellor Walther's gratitude to the army which had destroyed his secret hopes could not be expected to be overwhelming; and the Lord Innocent Himself was obliged to compensate His troops for their losses. These, together with arrears of pay and a solid bonus by way of prize money, the Pope cheerfully provided: though the custom of the time was rather to let the victors pay themselves from the plunder of the vanquished.

Innocent had little leisure in which to con-

gratulate Himself upon His success, for Markwald recovered from his defeat with amazing rapidity. But Count Gaultier of Lecce returned from France, where he had been recruiting a small but carefully selected force, in the very nick of time. Markwald and his accomplice the Chancellor at last had quarrelled. Each accused the other of aspiring to the crown. The layman being the stronger, the clerk fled into Calabria; and began to skin that unhappy province in his most approved Sicilian style, in order to raise funds for operations against his former confederate, to whom he was obliged to abandon the custody of the young king's person in the castle of Ziza, about half a mile from the gates of Palermo. By crossing the Pharos,⁶² however, Chancellor Walther came more immediately under the notice of the Pope. Definite evidence was soon forthcoming against him; and the Lord Innocent instantly stripped him of office, and blighted him with the Great Ban. The Markwaldine faction then suffered defeat in the person of Diopold of Acerra outside the gates of Capua. The Germans fled into Apulia, whither they were followed by the Cardinal-Legate Peter who raised the country upon them. The ex-chancellor now tried to make peace, with the

⁶² The Pharos is the political name in Sicilian History for the Straits of Messina, a body of water which, although it has always divided (and still does divide) nations as widely different as those separated by the Straits of Dover, the inhabitants of those parts have ever affected to consider a mere river.

Pope ; but was unable to stomach the necessarily concomitant friendship with Count Gaultier de Brienne. He therefore fled to Diopold. Together they rallied their men and made a great attack upon the pontifical forces near Barletta, vi Oct. 1201, where they were most signally defeated. In Sept. 1202, Markwald suddenly died, and though one Capparone seized Palermo, and tried to play the part of von Anweiler, the strain which the struggle with the latter had placed upon the resources and attention of the Pontiff was materially lessened. During the last months of his life, beside possessing the young king's person, Markwald had been almost absolute in Sicily : but most of his adherents deserted the new tyrant and joined the Pope, Who (by pressing on a scheme for marrying King Frederick to Costanza of Aragon, daughter of King En Alfonso I) got extra military assistance from that country to help in the recognition of Sicily.

The temporary illness of the Lord Innocent caused rumours of His death to spread ; and this curiously augmented the tedious disorders in The Kingdom. The Pisans mischievously interfered there, until checked by a pontifical remonstrance addressed to their government with which for some reason they complied. The ex-chancellor at length contrived to be reconciled ; and, though the Pope did not reinstate him in his lost see, he did good service for the king. The Count of

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Lecce went on with his pacification of the south, until Diopold of Acerra killed him in the castle of Sarno near Vesuvius, June 1205. Now that his adversary was removed, Diopold also manœuvred for reconciliation with the Church. This was accorded, and the Pope sent the penitent Count straight to Palermo to persuade the usurper Capparone to give up the king and the palace to the legates. This done the Pope Himself wrote to the Sicilian barons, stating that, the king being in the hands of friends and guided by lawful wardens, there was no further excuse for the lawlessness which hitherto might have been palliated while there was no fixed government in the country.

Although affairs were still much disturbed, the great offenders had been crushed: so that, when King Frederick came to his own, at the age of fourteen in 1208, he found that what elements of order existed in his kingdom were due to the Lord Innocent. The Emperor Otto's subsequent invasion of a kingdom to which he had no claim, and one just recovering from the long anarchy of its sovereign's minority, together with Frederick's coronation as King of Germany at Aachen, are treated elsewhere.

It has been said that Pope Innocent was not over-successful in His tutorship of Sicily: but it should be remembered that it occupied nearly the whole of the time of no less a man than the

Emperor Frederick II Stupor Mundi to reduce The Kingdom to order, and that he was on the spot and completely ruthless, while the Pope was in Rome, ill served by timid legates—and a Christian Bishop rather than a man of war. It is quite safe to say that it is entirely due to the Lord Innocent that the young king lived to grow up, and that he still found a kingdom existing at all when he came to an age to deal with it.

CHAPTER VI

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND ALBIGENSIAN SYNCRETISM

Tests of Innocent's character—general pontifical duties—Innocent's particular duty—What was Innocent?—Bishop of the Catholic Church—Albigensian Nonconformity—Condemned by Councils 1163, 1165, 1166—1167, Burgundian dissenters burned—1169, Lateran Council—1181, Dissenters harried—1195, Council of Montpensier—Corruption of Church in France—1196, Count Raymond VI of Toulouse—Albigensians the aggressors—1198, Innocent names commissioners—Authorities—Names of the Sects—Disunion in Dissent—“*Eidola Fori*”—Abbot of Mar-gare's description—Examination of the same—Waldensian tenets—Albigensian tenets—Constitution of the sect—Analysis of Albigensianism—Innocent's action—Appointment of two legates—Opposition of bishops—May 1204, Bill *Etsi Nostra Navicola*—Appointment of third legate—Legates depose bad bishops—Invention of Domingo de Guzman—Dominican Order—Count of Toulouse excommunicates—Jan. 1208, murder of the legate Pierre—Innocent anticipates Bera and Calvin—Reconciliation of Count Raymond—First Albigensian Crusade—Leading Crusaders—Leading Albigensians—Simon III de Montfort—Nov. 1209, Massacre of Beziers—Second excommunication of Count Raymond—1210, personal ambitions of Crusaders—Albigensians not annihilated but exasperated—Second Albigensian Crusade—Personal hatred of Count Raymond and Count Simon—Mutual atrocities—1212, Innocent reprobates Count Simon—Bill of Crusade revoked—Jan. 1213, Council of Lavaur—Count Raymond humbled—Rise of Simon de Montfort—Count Raymond pleads in Rome—Is deposed by Lateran Council—Pensioned—Jan. 1215, Council of Montpellier—Extinction of Albigensian rebellion—Summary

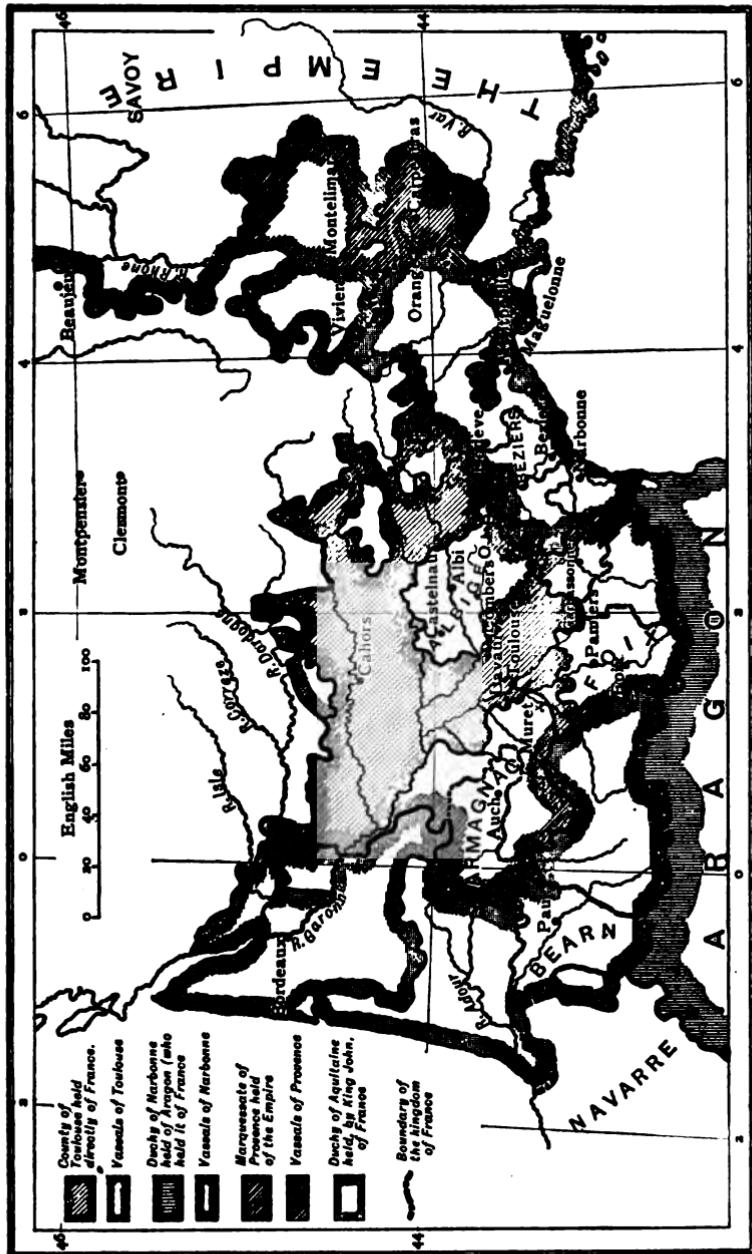
SOME writers consider that the verdict of history upon the character of Pope Innocent the Third should be given in regard to His general govern-

ment of the Church. Others think that the crux of His time was the imperial succession, or perhaps the Fourth Crusade: while yet a third class would not emphasize any one point, or series of points, but rather rely on the acts of the whole reign. It is possible, however, in emphasizing nothing, to fail of due appreciation of some flash of genius stamping the subject as the possessor of a great mind or of a masterful character. It is equally possible, on the other hand, in laying stress upon any one action or particular train of policy, that what really was routine work may be picked out for praise, and that an original treatment of a case may be overlooked in favour of some stroke which is rather the result of the steady methodical plodding of a permanent under-secretary than of a great leader's inspiration to seize the right opportunity. After giving due consideration to the several claims of The Empire, of England, of the East, or of Rome, to be the touchstone which should prove the true metal of the Lord Innocent, it is clearly apparent that these are not the only things to which one must look for the solution of the question of the great Conti Pope's status. We must go further afield before we can decide whether Innocent shall shine with the corona of a sun like Hildebrand, or whether He shall be considered a moon of the magnitude of the last Borgia, the Barberini, and the Pecci, Who (speaking politically) fill the

second category of pontifical greatness. The Lord Innocent's predecessors had had to cope with the blustering of truculent or cringing Caesars, the indignatiunculae of mulierose kings, the trade-unionism of barons, the venality of bishops, and the riots of the Romans: there was ample precedent ready to hand for a Pope who had to deal with selections from this list in every year of His reign; and there were hosts of curial officials whose experience was at His disposal. The pontificate itself was not particularly in need of a reformer: it had been raised out of the slough of despond wherein it had wallowed when it was no more than an ecclesiastical agency of the German Emperors: it had not yet sunk into the sanctimonious profligacy of Avignon during the "Babylonish Captivity." And the Holy Father Himself had several better things to do than to caper at the college of cardinals or "*bibere papaliter*." There was, in short, no very particularly Augean stable on the Celian Hill in which the Lord Innocent might play the part of Herakles.

But in the Toulousain of southern France there was that which needed unique and most meticulous treatment—the Albigeois was infected with a heresy which was as a peccant humour in the body of the Catholic Church. And the jury of history should be swayed, in pronouncing its verdict upon the Lord Innocent, by a considera-

THE TOLOUSAIN.



tion of His treatment of the Albigensians not less than by the evidence adduced in regard to His other activities.

Was He a blood-bibbing butcher, Who urged on His minions of the Inquisition to slaughter, torment, outrage, peaceful nonconformists who disdained the doctrines of a bloated corrupt opulent Erastian Establishment? Was He the sagacious shepherd Who cut out from His healthy flock the hopelessly diseased sheep, whose contagion threatened wholesale disaster? Or was He merely the man in authority, the philosophic ruler, acting impersonally for the greatest good of the greatest number?

As Bishop of The Catholic Church, the Lord Innocent was certainly responsible for Her integrity: in the maintenance of which He had certain rules to guide Him. We may or may not approve of these rules—we may or may not interpret them all alike:—but rules as plainly uncompromising as “He who is not with Me is against Me” (if we are not to close our ears and neglect them) do not admit of diverse interpretations.

The Albigensian heresy was not of very recent growth. It had been mentioned, and more or less automatically anathematized, by the provincial councils (which were little more than diocesan synods) of Lombers 1165 and Capestrang 1166. The fourth Canon of the Council of Tours 1163 stated that “A damnable heresy has for some

time existed in the Toulousain, whence it has spread little by little over Gascony and other provinces. We therefore command, on pain of excommunication, all bishops and clergy of those provinces to turn their whole attention to this matter, and prevent any man from giving shelter to the heretics, or from dealing with them. Catholic princes are commanded to imprison them, and are permitted to confiscate their property." This canon remained practically a dead letter in the south: but some dissenters were burned in Burgundy in 1167. The sects were again noticed at the Lateran Council in 1169. In 1181 the Cardinal-bishop of Albano used an armed force for summary dealings with certain recusants. In 1195 the council of Montpensier sought out and re-enacted all sentences of excommunication against the sectaries: which perhaps was not very much to the point, as they had ceased of their own accord to commune with the Church for some time past.

It is not for a moment pretended that there never was a time in the history of Christianity when there was no cause for protest. In Innocent the Third's day, the Church in the south of France had fallen upon fairly evil times: in one sense its grossness, worldliness, and lethargy had caused heresy; and in another sense the heresy had ill-affected it. The Archbishop of Narbonne, for example, (bastard of Count Raymond Berenger of Barcelona) held the bishopric also of Lerida,

beside the abbey of Montaragon where he lived. This prelate had not visited his archdiocese for thirteen years; and amassed riches by the sale of the sacrament of Orders, benefices, and dispensations. His clergy were corrupt pluralists, of a low standard of learning, who wore secular clothes, followed secular professions, and openly lived with wives. The archbishop himself habitually sheltered robbers and brigands in return for a share of their plunder; and also countenanced (if he did not personally practise) open usury. In the south of France, west of Rhone, the clergy shared with Jews the contempt of the laity: no clerk could stir abroad until his tonsure was grown over; and bishops, when they troubled at all about the matter, were hard put to it to find candidates for ordination. While the Church was in this condition it was not strange to find that many of the nobles inclined to secession, and that members of the sects (in consequence) contrived to gain exemptions from feudal dues. The latter also were the beneficiaries of frequent legacies; and, in spite of their so-called predilection for simplicity, were often wealthy. The power of the Church actually was so undermined by the prevalence of materialism that bishops were unable to prevent heresiarchs from preaching in public, e.g. Sicard, in the castle of Lombers, whom the bishop of Albi was powerless to silence. Neither could the episcopacy collect the tithes whereon it lived: Bishop Fulcrand

of Toulouse was reduced to such penury that he had to beg for an allowance from his chapter. Many of the southern princes were secret or avowed opponents of the Church: Count Raymond VI of Toulouse was excommunicated in 1196 for his atrocious conduct towards the abbey of St. Gilles: the tutor of Viscount Raymond-Roger of Carcassonne and Beziers (one Bertrand de Saissac) was the dissenter who (1197) burned the Abbey of Alet (because of a displeasing election), flung the elect-abbot into prison and posted the dead one on a throne until one of his own creatures had been chosen, the opposition having been meticulously massacred; and the result was that the young viscount was afterwards known to take part in the nonconformist ceremony of Adoration.

Unfortunately it cannot be maintained that the Albigensians were simple unworldly folk, who only desired liberty of conscience for themselves: on the contrary (like their archetypes and ectypes in all ages) they proved themselves to be—when the opportunity came—as prone to aggressive persecution as any passive resister. There were horrible scenes of violence at the disputed elections for the see of Toulouse in 1202: the lawful bishop was hounded out of the city, and the canons constrained by threats or actuality of torment to revoke the election.

Such then was the condition in which the Lord Innocent found the south of France: the Church

hopelessly discredited, the nobles hostile, the bishops powerless or profligate, the country honeycombed with heterodoxy and creeping with brigands.

On 1 April 1198, in answer to the piteous appeals of the Archbishop of Auch, the Pope named two Cistercians, Guy and Renier, to examine the case of the Valdenses, Cathari and Patarini. In undertaking this task He was guided by the canon of the Lateran Council of 1179, which decrees that "although the Church, according to the words of St. Leo, contents Herself with a sacerdotal judgment and does not employ sanguinary executions, nevertheless She is assisted by the laws of princes, in order that the fear of a temporal punishment may compel men to have recourse to spiritual remedies." He then waited for reports, after His manner; and accumulated evidence, as to the condition of the Church and the progress of nonconformity.

A fair idea of the matter which He had to consider and to judge, may, perhaps, be gained from a study of the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* of Devic and Vaissète, O.S.B.: *Bibliotheca Patrum op. Bernardi Abb. Fontiscaldensis: Acta Conciliorum*: Mabillon's *Vetera Analecta*, tom. iii, and Limborth's *History of the Inquisition*, which quotes the original records of the heresy trials.

First, it may be said that there is much confusion as to the exact nomenclature of the various

sects concerned. It is quite a mistake to pretend to suppose (for ends adscititious or otherwise) that there was anything like unity in dissent in the Thirteenth Century any more than there is in the Twentieth. When once the absurd principle of private judgment (which no one dreams of exercising in matters best left to experts) is practised in regard to religion, infinite differentiation inevitably follows. The Lord Innocent's commissioners were confronted with two main sects: the members of which professed singularly various beliefs; and hence it is no wonder that completely different sets of dogmas should be continually confused together. We find the nonconformists described as Publicians, Poplicani, Petrobrusians, Paulicians, Leonistae, Sabatati, Henricians, Bulgarians, Boulgres, Arians, Manichaeans, Poor Men of Lyons, Cathari, Patarini, Waldenses, and Albigenses. It seems as though the writers of the period were thoroughly infected with Francis Bacon's *Eidola Fori*,—the strange power of words and phrases over the mind—and were anxious to display their knowledge of at least the denominations of different heresies, and to label incoherent jumbles of blasphemies with names which, (when first used meant something definite, but) in their later application were the merest tags. Prelates and councils not unfrequently had the uncommon sense to place themselves on the safe side by describing dissenters as "heretics" *tout court*. This is the case in the preamble to the canons of

the Council of Tours, 1163;⁴⁸ and in the fourth canon thereof it is written "A damnable heresy has existed." The Council of Lombers, 1163, stated "In reply to the Interrogation of the Lord Bishop of Lodève, Olivier and his companions, selected heretics, denied the Old Testament and asserted the efficacy only of the New. They offered to prove from the gospels and epistles that the said Lord Bishop was an infidel and blasphemer, and that all the other prelates present were hirelings and no true shepherds."⁴⁹ The Burgundians, who were burned in 1167, were called Poplicani; and twelve years later the Lateran Council of 1179 anathematized Cathari, Patarini, and Poplicani.⁵⁰ The Council of Montpensier in 1195 was still undecided as to the exact designation: but made up for its ignorance with a zealous damnation of "blasphemous heretics." The Premonstratensian Abbot, Bernard of Fontcaude, naïvely writes "*Contra Waldenses et Arianos.*" Two years later, in 1197, King En Peyre II of Aragon published an edict against the Waldenses, or Sabatati: while, as we have seen, the Lord Innocent in 1198 named Cistercian Inquisitors to deal with Waldenses, Cathari, or Patarini.⁵¹

As for the information which was submitted to the Pope, the Abbot of Margare wrote: "These

⁴⁸ *Acta Conciliorum*, XXI p. 1176.

⁴⁹ *Hist. Languedoc*, Vol. VI Ed. 1879.

⁵⁰ *Acta Conciliorum*, XXII p. 232.

⁵¹ *Breve of i Apr. 1198.*

false prophets pretend to lead an apostolic life and to imitate the Apostles. They preach unceasingly, walk barefoot, pray kneeling seven times by day and as often by night. They will not take money from any man. They eat no meat, drink no wine, and content themselves with a plain diet. They say that charity availeth nothing: because no man should possess anything. They refuse to communicate, pretending that the Mass is a vain form (*inutile*); and protest that they are ready to die or suffer the utmost penalty for their belief. They make pretence of working miracles.”⁶⁷

Even from Pope Innocent’s point of view there does not seem to have been anything violently objectionable in the tenets described by the Abbot of Margare, excepting of course the denial of the efficacy of the Mass and Holy Communion; and that, no doubt, must have been a misconception on the part of the Lord Abbot. People who have so far got hold of the apostolic spirit, as those described in the foregoing quotation, could not possibly have missed such an important item as this means of grace. But it is extremely likely that the backsliders in question made the not uncommon mistake of visiting upon the Church Universal their indignation at the enormities of particular clergy, whose ministrations they consequently (and quite erroneously) disdained to

⁶⁷ Mabillon. *Vetora Analecta*, vol. iii.

accept. Of course the fact remains that these people undeniably were guilty of "stasis" in forming a little creed and a little society of their own: but is it conceivable for a single instant that a Pontiff Who was enlightened enough to include so very unusual and "methodistical" a person as Blessed Brother Francis of Assisi, his preaching, his praying, his professional penury, his plain diet, within the Fold, should have expelled the Abbot of Margare's enthusiasts solely on the counts named. Lord Macaulay has said all that is necessary to be said on the subject of the Catholic Church's catholicity in dealing with human idiosyncrasies.

The Waldenses, however, would seem to have arrived at a far sharper line of cleavage. Their tenets at the time were mainly as follows:—

I. They were not subject to the Roman Pontiff, or to the prelates of the Church of Rome. They could not be excommunicated by any of these. They ought not to obey the Pope when He ordered them to abjure their sect. The Church of Rome sinned in persecuting them.⁶⁸

II. The prelates of the Church of Rome were blind leaders of the blind, and did not preserve the truth of the Gospel or imitate Apostolic poverty.

⁶⁸ Limborch. *Hist. Inq.* Bk. I, chap. viii. Sentence on Hugette de Vismes.

III. The Church of Rome was a house of lies.

IV. Oaths are unlawful.

V. Confession to a priest is useless.

VI. All judgment is forbidden by God; and it is a sin for a man to condemn a fellow-man to death or punishment in any case or for any cause whatever.

VII. Laymen and women have the right to preach the Gospel.

VIII. The prayers of the faithful and other good works are of no avail to the dead.

IX. There is no Purgatory after death,⁶⁰ this life being the only Purgatory.

X. The soul on leaving the body, goes straight to Paradise, or Hell.

Here, perhaps, we come to something a little more precise. Beside the categorical attack on certain definite dogmas of the Catholic Church (which it is not proposed to minimise or even to defend in these pages,) it ought not to escape observation that the Waldensian denial, of the right to punish crime, simply contemplated such a state of anarchy as is contrary to all sane ideals of good government, and as such could not fail of condemnation by lawful authority.

The creed of the Albigensians, as far as it can be traced, contained far more numerous elements to which exception might be taken by

⁶⁰ *Biblioth. Patrum.* Op. Bernard Fontiscaldensis. *Contra Waldenses et Arianos.*

unprejudiced political economists of any period. Their most important tenets were as follows:—

I. There are two Churches, the one merciful—the Albigensian Church of Christ, which retains that faith within which every one is saved and without which no one can be saved: the other—the merciless Church of Rome, which is the Mother of Fornication, the Temple of the Devil, the Synagogue of Satan, within which every one is irretrievably damned.

II. There are two Gods: the One Good, the other evil. The evil god is the Devil and Satan: who created the Old Testament and all things visible and corporeal, and is the god, maker and prince of this world: the Good God is the Creator of all things invisible and incorporeal.⁷⁰

III. All the Sacraments of the Catholic Church are vain and unprofitable: excepting Penance and Confirmation.

IV. There is no Real Presence in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

V. Orders are vain; and priests of the Catholic Church have no power to bind or loose.⁷¹

VI. Extreme Unction is of no avail; and signifies nothing.

VII. Confession to a priest is useless, as the Good God only can forgive sins: but the Perfecti

⁷⁰ *Hist. Ing.* Sentence on Petrus Auterius.

⁷¹ *Ib.* Sentence on Stephana.

of the sect, by the imposition of hands⁷² and the Gospel Book, can absolve from all sin people who join the Albigensian community:—this was called the *Consolamentum*.⁷³

VIII. It is impossible for God to have become Incarnate because He never humbled Himself so greatly as to put Himself in the womb of a woman: He did not take a real human body of flesh of our nature, nor do other things relating to our salvation in it, nor rise from the dead, nor sit down at the Right Hand of the Father with it, but only with the semblance of it.

IX. Baptism in water is of no avail to children, because they are so far from consenting to it that many even weep during the ceremony.⁷⁴

X. Matrimony is always sinful, and was never appointed by the Good God: carnal matrimony between man and woman is not true matrimony, nor is it permitted.

XI. The Blessed Virgin Mary neither is nor was carnal woman; but was and is the Albigensian Church, which is true Penance.

⁷² This imposition of hands was one of the principal features of the ceremony of Heretication of which one hears so much at this time. The trial of Benedictus Molineri (Limborsch) affords an example of this rite in the case of a sick person. "Bernard de Goch held the hands of the sick person between his own and held a certain book over him in which he read the Gospel of St. John 'In the beginning was the Word &c.' and delivered to him a fine thread with which he was to be bound for Heresy."

⁷³ *Hist. Inq.* Sentence on Bernard de Goch.

⁷⁴ *Ib.* Sentence on Petrus Raymondus Dominicus.

XII. There is no resurrection of the body, but there is a resurrection of the spiritual body and inner man.

XIII. The spiritual body has bones and flesh and members; and the wicked are going to be tormented, in these spiritual bodies, by being dashed by devils against cliffs and rocks.

XIV. Souls are spirits banished from heaven because of their sins.

XV. All oaths are sinful.⁷⁵

XVI. Meat, eggs, must not be eaten, but only fish and oil.⁷⁶

XVII. The Cross is a detestable emblem of the Devil, and no man should adore it.⁷⁷

XVIII. Carnal intercourse with women is forbidden: married persons are compelled to divorce on joining the Albigensian community.

XIX. The *Endura* (or fasting to death) was encouraged, and might be accelerated by phlebotomy or the use of poison.⁷⁸

Devic and Vaissette inform us that the sect was divided into the Perfecti and Credentes: but a later development appears, when an Albigensi-

⁷⁵ *Hist. Inq.* Sentence on Huguette de Vismes.

⁷⁶ *Hist. Lan.* Sentence on the Viscount Raymond Roger.

⁷⁷ The argument adduced by the Heretics was that no man worshipped the gallows upon which his father had been hanged: forgetful, apparently, of those fundamental differences between the actuality and the simile which cannot fail to strike the unbiased observer.

⁷⁸ *Hist. Inq.* Sentence on Bernard de Goch, and cf. Conybeare, "Key of Truth," App. vi.

arch arose in the person of one Niquinta, who appointed Bernard Raymond as "bishop (*sic*) of Toulouse," with other episcopuli over divers "dioceses" (*sic*) of which the extent was to coincide with that of the Catholic dioceses.

This singular gallimaufry contains several items on which (even among Christians at the present date) there is not an universal consensus of opinion, e.g. the Real Presence, Sacerdotal Authority, Extreme Unction, Holy Order, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Sign of the Cross, and the Precise Epithets which are Applicable to the Church of Rome. Others, again, will easily be perceived to be the merest echoes of heresies which were already obsolete in the Thirteenth Century: for example—of flagrant Manichaeism in the clause regarding the duality of the Deity, of Montanism in the singularly immoral regulations relating to matrimony. Others again, such as the doctrines on Baptism, on Oaths, and Vegetarianism, are a curious anticipation of more modern shatterpated infatuations. But what can we say of such incoherent and phantastic nonsense as the articles dealing with the Blessed Virgin, the physical nature of spiritual bodies, the lapidatory proclivities of fiends in a future state, or the article legalizing lingering suicide? These may perhaps commend themselves to misogynists, unimaginative realists, competitors for the office of curator of the damned,

or euthanasiastic fakirs, but not to more enlightened races, who have learned chivalry towards women, who pursue science with an open mind, and practise sober and decent methods of living and dying.

After weighing the evidence, and some correspondence with the Kings of France and Aragon, the Lord Innocent realized that He was face to face with what was quite as much a social as a religious heresy of the most virulent kind. At the same time He was by no means unaware that the mote in the eye of the Church needed considerable attention. This important consideration perhaps explains the vigour with which He proceeded to purge the Church in the infected district of worthless clerks and prelates, and to eradicate the heresy. In 1204 Pierre de Castelnau, Archdeacon of Maguelonne, and Cardinal Raoul, ex-archdeacon and Bishop of Arras, were appointed legates in a Bull depriving all the bishops of the place of their spiritual authority, and vesting the same in the legates. This was the first step toward the formation of the Congregation of the Holy Office of Inquisition. The deposed prelates, including of course the scandalous Archbishop Berenger of Narbonne, bitterly complained. The Pope replied in a second Bull, *Etsi Nostra Navicula* of xxx May 1204, rebuking the complainants and their clergy for the slack and disgraceful condition into which they had allowed themselves, their

dioceses, and their parishes to fall; and Abbot Arnaud Amaury of Cîteaux was added, as co-legate, to strengthen the hands of the other two. The legates, having received special powers to this end, deposed the bishop of Béziers, and (soon after) the intruded bishop of Toulouse. Count Raymond of that city now swore to assist the legates by expelling the recusants from his territory.

Just at this time a new element was introduced into the pontifical policy in the person of Domingo de Guzman, a Spanish priest, who proposed to Bishop Diego Azebez of Osma a somewhat novel method of treating the difficulty. His proposal was to pervade the country barefoot, to carry neither gold nor silver, and to preach in the manner of the apostles. The bishop enthusiastically welcomed the idea on account of its simplicity, which undoubtedly would impress such persons who were goaded into dissent by the too worldly pomp of prelates. He himself took the leadership of the movement which was speedily joined by two of the legates, Pierre de Castelnau and the Abbot of Cîteaux. Innocent the Third, on His part, lost no time in approving their zeal. Domingo and his quickly-growing band swore to defend the doctrine of the Church with their lives against all heretics, and to place themselves under the direction of the Pope in His capacity as Vicar of Christ, and the first mendicant Order went forth to win,

by the excellence of service, formal approval and a regular constitution.”²⁹

The Count of Toulouse (whom the Monk of Cernay calls “peccatorum omnium apotheca”) did not continue to give satisfaction. Pierre de Castelnau appears to have been of a somewhat fiery temper; and, when he found Raymond half-hearted against the heretics, sheltering as many as he expelled, he at once excommunicated him and reported very fully upon his case to Rome. The Pope wrote severely to the misdemeanant, who was induced to surrender to the legate. But another disagreement followed; and the Count threatened his opponent’s life. It was the case of King Henry Fitzempress and Archbishop Beket over again. Some partisans of Raymond murdered the legate on the banks of Rhone, xv Jan. 1208. Every one assumed Count Raymond’s guilt. He most strenuously denied it. The Pope excommunicated the murderers: wrote to the King of France, urging him to attack the Count; and, anticipating the thesis of Beza, *De hereticis a magistratu civili puniendis*, and that of Calvin, *Jure gladii coercendos esse hereticos*, ordered a Crusade against the Albigensians. This was a novel proceeding: hitherto the name of Crusade had been confined to expeditions toward Jerusalem.

²⁹ A pun on the name of the founder designated the Dominican Order “The Dogs of the Lord” (Domini Canes) for the hunting of heretics.

Count Raymond appealed in haste to the Pope; and offered to accept conditions: he even went to Rome to plead his case. The Lord Innocent, however, insisted upon an examination of the whole affair by a commission. His Holiness appointed the Apostolic Prothonotary Milon and Canon Thedisius of Genoa, as legates: for He wished to be fair, knowing very well that the excommunicate Count and the Abbot of Cîteaux were not on the best of terms. The affair ended at the Council of Montelimar, when Raymond renewed his obedience, and handed over seven castles as surety. He was then formally absolved and shortly afterwards took the Cross against the heretics.

The suppression of Albigensian Nonconformity was by no means a massacre of inoffensive unresisting religious maniacs. It was rather a fierce campaign of extermination against a foe which was well armed, led by famous warriors, possessed of strong castles and wealthy towns, commanding vast resources, and polluted with the guilt of unspeakable atrocities.

"At Pamiers the Frenchmen of Raymond-Roger, Count of Foix, cut one of the Canons of the Abbey of Saint Antonin to pieces and gouged out the eyes of another monk of the same place. The count came along soon afterwards with his knights, buffoons, and courtiers, shut up the abbot and his monks in the church where he

permitted them to fast for three days and finally drove them, nearly naked, from the confines of their native city.”⁸⁰

Among the leaders who took part in the first Crusade against the Albigensians, were Duke Eudes III of Burgundy, Pierre de Courtenay Count of Nevers, afterwards Emperor of Romania, Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester afterwards Count of Toulouse, Guillaume des Roches, Senechal of Anjou, Count Guillaume of Ponthieu, Guy Lord of Beaujeu, Engueraud de Coucy, the Archbishops Gérard de Cros of Bourges, Pierre de Corbeil of Sens, Robert Poulain of Rouen, the Bishops Gautier II of Autun, Jourdain du Hommet of Lisieux, Robert d’Auvergne of Clermont, the English Henry of Bayeux, and Reginald de Bar of Chartres.

The leaders of the heretics were the Viscount Raymond-Roger of Béziers and Carcassonne, (son of that Roger II who sacked the abbey of St. Pons de Tomières (1171), and imprisoned the Bishop of Albi, giving him heretics as gaolers,) Viscount Gaston VI of Bearn, Count Bernard III of Comminges, Count Raymond-Roger of Foix, and Count Gerold III of Armagnac.

The Crusaders elected Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester as their leader, and at once took the offensive against Carcassonne, which was regarded as a nest of the nonconformists. The

⁸⁰ Luchaire. *Innocent III., la croisade des Albigeois*, p. 25.

city was taken ; and the Earl of Leicester elected to succeed Viscount Raymond-Roger, who was straitly confined in one of the strongest towers, where he died shortly afterwards. Béziers fell next ; and, despite the pleading of the Bishop, (whose predecessor Bishop Guillaume III's teeth had been beaten down his throat by his own subjects, so that he died, Mar. 1167), was the scene of a most fearful massacre, x Nov. 1209. The Albigensians opposed a furious resistance ; and were treated with unmitigated severity. Count Raymond again fell foul of the legates, by reason of his unwillingness to exterminate his own subjects of Toulouse, and his refusal to restore the property of the Bishop of Carpentras ; and, in consequence, he once more came under the ban of excommunication.

The year 1210 was spent in fruitless negotiations between the King of Aragon and Simon de Montfort, who wished to secure recognition of his new lordship of Carcassonne and Béziers. The political and secular element of personal ambition was already beginning to appear, to the infinite detriment of the Crusade. King En Peyre was opposed to Simon de Montfort ; and seems to have assisted the Count of Toulouse against him. Matters indeed were in a very unsatisfactory state. The first Crusade which had been much hampered by the observance of the feudal forty-day limit for military service by

many of the lords, seemed to have done more to exasperate the Albigensians than to annihilate them.

The Pope, therefore, proclaimed a second Crusade, gathering forces from far and near under Duke Leopold VI of Austria, Duke Theobald of Bar, the Count of Auxerre, the Count of Kleve, the Count of Jülich, the Count of Berg, the Bishops of Paris, Lisieux, Bayeux, Toul and Loudun, with Simon de Montfort as commander in chief. The siege of Lavaur was at once attempted. At first, Count Raymond would neither fight the Crusaders nor pursue the Albigensians. After the fall of Lavaur, however, when the most revolting cruelties were perpetrated on both sides, the great personal hatred for each other (displayed by the rival leaders) then blazed forth. Count Raymond was exasperated beyond measure at the way in which Simon de Montfort slaughtered his subjects, pillaged his villages, and devastated his crops and vines. He took the field, and besieged Carcassonne: but, when defeated, was able to retire under cover of his allies, the counts of Foix and Comminges. He then appealed to King En Peyre for help, both in men against de Montfort, and in representations on his behalf to the court of Rome. The war, by this time, had degenerated into a personal struggle between the two chiefs; and only partook of the nature of a

Crusade when some more than usually revolting act of cruelty was achieved by one side or the other. In May 1211, eighty-one Albigensian knights were hanged by the crusaders: who also tossed the Lady Giraude of Lavaur into a well; and burned sixty select sectarians at Casse near Castelnaudary, after having had them preached at by bishops. On the other hand, Gaston de Béarn had profaned The Host and unmentionably desecrated the cathedral of Oloron: in 1178 the Albigensians had stoned Catholics in Toulouse streets and, later, used the high altar of a church as a public convenience.

The Pope perceived the true state of things: for, between September and December 1212, He wrote to Simon de Montfort (who had just been making ordinances for the peaceful administration of the scarcely pacified country at the Council of Pamiers), sternly rebuking him for following his own interests under cover of the Crusade. The Lord Innocent also wrote to the Archbishop of Narbonne to say that (in His opinion) the heresy was now well under control, and that the services of the Crusaders were required more against the Moors in Spain than against the miserable remnant of the Albigensians. This epistle practically revoked the Bull which commissioned the Crusade.

The Council of Lavaur, Jan. 1213, tried to make a definite peace with Count Raymond, who,

they complained, was not to be bound by oaths: but he, expecting help from the King of Aragon against Simon, refused to fetter himself. The help came, and with it King En Peyre. The Earl of Leicester, however, by prodigies of valour, defeated the allies at the battle of Muret, where the King of Aragon was killed. The only claim (to belong to a Crusade) which this battle can have, is that the legate, Cardinal Robert Curson, made peace after it, and that one of the conditions to which the defeated Raymond agreed was that of extirpating heresy. The Count of Toulouse was so humbled that he actually served under his former enemy at the siege of Casseneuil, one of the last of the castles held by the militant Albigensians. He was moreover deprived of his sovereignty and reduced to the position of a subject. Simon de Montfort was now Count of Toulouse, Viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, Duke of Narbonne, and Earl of Leicester. King Philip the August did not invest him until x Apr. 1216, though he had obtained letters of investiture over all Raymond's late territories from the Apostolic Legate.

Raymond considered himself so wronged by Simon, that he betook himself to Rome to plead his case before the Pope and the Lateran Council. He was accompanied by the Counts of Foix and Comminges, who were loyal to him; through all his misfortunes. He was also supported by

several bishops, who had little love for the new master of the south. The Lord Innocent was inclined to side with the appellants: but was dissuaded, and a decree of the Council formally deposed Raymond and granted his dominions to his conqueror. The two counts, his allies, were censured, but allowed to keep their counties after promising to give castles as sureties for their good behaviour. The Pope, however, moved by countless petitions in his favour, notably from King John Lackland's envoy the Abbot of Beaulieu and the Archbishop of Embrun, refused to allow the ex-count of Toulouse to be reduced to penury: a pension of 400 marks was given to him, and the Lord Innocent promised that, as He had deprived Raymond's young son of the succession to his family inheritance, He would see to it that he had ample compensation elsewhere. In consequence the boy was awarded Beaucaire, Nimes, and the marquessate of Provence. Raymond died in 1222, after a further effort to regain his lost inheritance.

The Council of Montpellier, which met on viii Jan. 1215, took the necessary measures for restoring ecclesiastical discipline in the south; and was closed by the legate Cardinal Peter of Benevento. When King Philip the August's son Louis, disappointed (by the Pope's action in allowing King John to be reconciled) of his hopes of an English expedition, came down with the Third (or Peace-

ful) Albigensian Crusade, he found no necessity for military measures. The rebellion may therefore be said to have ceased to be dangerous by the beginning of 1213, and to have become practically extinct, as an organised force, by the middle of 1215.

Much as the fact may be deplored, it would be futile to deny that the Pope, in His capacity as Head of the Church, was compelled to take some kind of stringent measures for the suppression of the Albigensian Rebellion. No doubt the most desirable form which these measures should take, would have been that desiderated by Domingo de Guzman. That His Holiness chiefly employed other and physical methods, is due (first) to the custom of the times, which knew no other way of getting what it wanted than by the use of force, and (secondly) from the irresistibly convenient weapon which Fate placed ready to His hand in the person of Simon de Montfort. It is doubtful whether the Crusade would have achieved its end, had it not been for the Earl of Leicester's perspicacity in realising that, by judicious self-assertion, he might obtain for himself the lion's share of the temporal gains accruing from this spiritual sword-service. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to add that Pope Innocent bitterly regretted the appalling cruelties of the campaign: this point is made quite clear from the tenor of His letters on the subject; and it is only fair to emphasize the fact that He

only allowed Himself to resort to secular violence, for the purpose of ending the Heresy, after the efforts of no less than ten years, to effect the same desirable end by the more peaceful methods of persuasion and Church reform, had failed, and failed entirely through the extremely militant attitude of the upholders of the schism, and the hereditary slackness of the Toulousain in its zeal for the Faith, with its perennial weak-kneed leaning toward any and every heresy, which might happen to be imported from abroad or invented on the spot.

CHAPTER VII

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND ENGLAND

A pontifical success—Innocent and Richard Lionheart—Accession of John defrauds Otto and Berengère—John and Philip the August—Innocent's mediation—The Canterbury Question—1205, disputed right of election—Three claimants—Monks secretly elect the sub-prior Reginald—who goes to Rome—John intervenes—Bishops and monks elect John de Gray—Innocent to adjudicate—Monks confess irregular election of Reginald—who protests—Canterbury suffragans declare for John de Gray—Innocent's objections to him—his election quashed—Reginald's election invalidated—Innocent nominates and monks elect Stephen Langton—Innocent announces the fact to Softsword—Plantagenet passion—John to Innocent—Innocent's indifference—Jun. 1207, consecration of Langton—Interdict threatened—John sequestrates and escheats archbishopric of York—John refuses Langton—John's threats—May 1208, England under Interdict—John seeks terms—Innocent grants them—Exasperation of John—Defection of Archdeacon of Norwich, whom John starves—Election of Bishop of Lincoln—1212, John excommunicate and deposed—England granted to France—John cringes—Nunciature of Randolfo—France to invade England—John climbs down—Oct. 1213, John liegeman of Holy See—Innocent protects His vassal from French attack, and defends him against his own barons—1215, Magna Carta—Value of pontifical victory

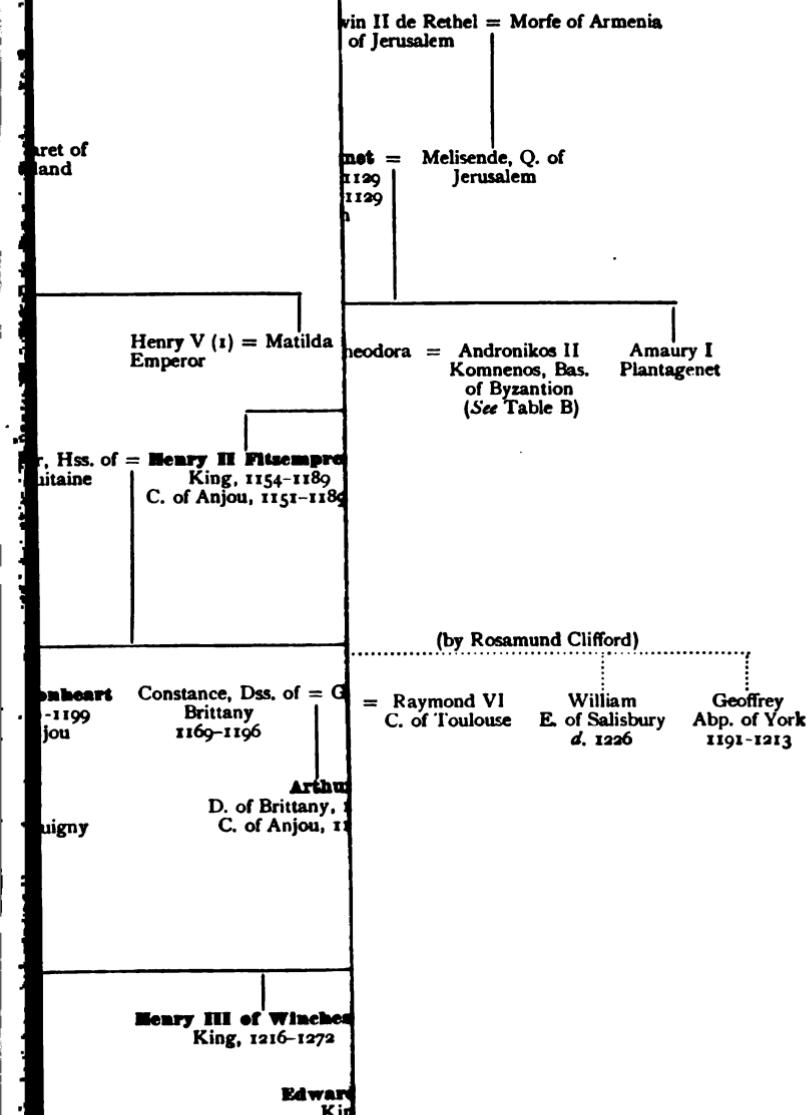
OF all the subjects of Pope Innocent's diplomacy, none was more successful (from the Roman point of view) than His treatment of England. Undeterred, perhaps even urged on, by the Sicilian precedent, He succeeded in obtaining the kingdom of England as a fief of the Holy See, together with a substantial tribute as the token of His suzerainty. The son of King Henry Fitzempress, (that sturdy

upholder of royal rights against pontifical,) became Saint Peter's liegeman. The Plenitude of the Apostolic Power was brought into successful operation in the case of a disputed election to the Pananglican primacy ; and it was a far greater and more real triumph for the Lateran, that a pontifical nominee should sit in Canterbury than in Latin Constantinople. Was not the Archbishop of the English *Papa alterius orbis?* And who or what was a Latin patriarch of Constantinople, even under the Emperors of Romania, in comparison with the Successor of Augustine ?

Innocent the Third's first dealing with England had consisted of friendly letters to King Richard Lionheart : to whom, on one occasion, He sent four precious rings, as a token of affection, so as to sweeten much good advice. King Richard died, suddenly, and not wholly free from ecclesiastical pains, penalties, and censures of a minor kind, and (seemingly) without a plenary absolution in the article of death, which may explain the delay over his burial. And King John his brother reigned in his stead.

King Richard had been one of the principal supporters of his nephew Otto. King John also sided with the Guelf candidate in the German question ; and so was of the pontifical party. This, in the Lord Innocent's opinion, was as it should be. But the Pope was seriously annoyed that the new king did not hand over King Richard's legacy to

TABLE F—THE



his imperial nephew.³¹ King John was approached on the subject: the delay of payment was gently regretted; and Otto's need of the money delicately pointed out. England was made to feel that he would be doing Rome a favour by fulfilling dead England's wishes. When this method was unavailing, he was reproached in no less than eight pontifical breves. King John enjoyed an unenviable financial reputation in Rome not only on this account: there was another difficulty involving five pontifical breves and nine years of negotiation about Queen Berengère's dowry, a matter upon which the Pope had also to correspond with King Don Sancho of Navarre.

With the purely international affairs of England and France, the Lord Innocent did not see fit to interfere: beyond recommending a permanent peace, as the best preliminary to the Crusade in which He urged both sovereigns to embark. Later, the Pope made further advances, in the shape of definite offers of mediation when He saw (with sorrow) the two principal kings of the west engaged in a bitter war of conquest, wasting money, and occupying men which could ill be spared in Christendom's need for an immediate and united Crusade.

Before proceeding to consider the question of

³¹ This legacy consisted of two-thirds of King Richard's treasure and all his jewels ("baubellis"). King John also refused to acknowledge his nephew either as Earl of York or Count of Poitou.

the Canterbury controversy it may be hinted, that, in this case, the Lord Innocent's diplomatic acumen perhaps failed to guide Him quite aright. The pure justice of the contested election did not essentially demand Langton's nomination. A little more finesse, a wider knowledge of King John's character, and a less impatient desire for the immediate welfare of the Church in what was (for the period) a very minor consideration, would have spared the Pope years of trouble, and England the third most humiliating chapter in her history.

On the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter, xiii Jul. 1205, the right of election to the see of Canterbury was in dispute between the monks of Christ Church and the suffragans of the Province who held capitular titles: e.g. The Bishop of London is Dean of the Province, the Bishop of Winchester Subdean: while the offices of Chancellor, Precentor, Chaplain and Crucifer are annexed to the sees respectively of Lincoln, Salisbury, Worcester, and Rochester. The monks claimed on the ground of long usage and established custom; and the bishops, because they said they were the chapter—and what was the object of a chapter other than to elect bishops? But, as the bishops were scattered about the kingdom, each in his own diocese, they had no opportunity of taking concerted action until later. Also there was necessary, (not precisely the

Tiberian privilege of *commendatio*, nor its modern equivalent of the solemn and somewhat blasphemous farce of the *congé d'élire*, but) the royal assent to the election.

The monks of Christ Church, in order to make sure of their right of election, forthwith met secretly by night and chose the subprior Reginald to succeed the worldly courtier Walter. And, having enthroned their selection, they were straightway afraid of what they had done. So Reginald (whether still subprior or really elect-archbishop) was hurried off on the eighty days' journey²² to Rome to obtain pontifical confirmation and consecration. From motives of prudence, he was strictly enjoined to keep his election and letters of recommendation secret. Imagining, however, that it would be more commodious to travel as the elect-archbishop of a great see than as a mere subprior of monks, Reginald no sooner landed upon the continent than he bourgeoned forth with his new dignity; and proceeded to his destination in archiepiscopal circumstance. This action placed the Canterbury monks in a perilous position: they were exposed to the king's displeasure for presuming to elect without consulting him. Consequently when John's wishes were made known, Bishop John de Gray

²² Cf. the journey of Thomas Marlborough [Marlborge] who quitted Evesham on xx Sept. 1204 and arrived in Rome on the vi Dec.

of Norwich was chosen by both monks and bishops; and envoys were sent to Rome to ask for his pallium.

The Pope received the envoys; and told them that Reginald had already arrived in Rome to prefer his claims, and that evidence on the subject would have to be heard before a decision could be given. The monks (who accompanied the royal envoys) in fear of by no means impossible unpleasantness on the part of King John, produced documents to show that their subprior's election had been invalid. Reginald naturally protested, saying that the Pope had promised to decide, not only who was archbishop but also, upon the right of election. The suffragans of Canterbury now formally asserted their claim: but, believing that safety lay in siding with their sovereign, they declared for the Bishop of Norwich. The Pope knew something of the latter prelate. He had had some correspondence with him (x Jun. 1203) about the deposition of con-nubially-minded clerks. In the Lord Innocent's opinion there had been enough of statecrafty archbishops. Bishop de Gray was too good a King's-man to be a good Pope's-man; and Canterbury would thrive better under the ministrations of a church-man. Consequently He quashed Bishop de Gray's election on the ground of irregularity: declared Reginald's to be invalid on the ground of informality; and decided in favour of the sole

right of the monks to elect. He then ordered a new election to be made by the sixteen monks of Canterbury then in Rome, who were to be taken as compromissaries for the whole convent. These, still shaking in their shoes, were not able to think of anybody but the king's nominee: until the Pope told them that no king had anything to do with elections made in Rome; and gave them a name. Thus advised, their choice precipitated itself upon the Cardinal-Presbyter of the Title of S. Chrysogonus, one Stephen Langton, who had been a fellow student and friend of the Pope at Paris, and subsequently Lecturer in Theology in the same university, and had won some fame by dividing the Bible into chapters as we now print it.⁸⁸

The king's envoys, who knew their master better than did the Pope, absolutely refused to accept the election. It therefore became the Lord Innocent's pleasing task to acquaint the fiery Angevin with the *fait accompli*: which He did in a most gracious and flowery epistle. There is a fable that the House of Plantagenet sprang from the union of a man with a female devil. If such cross-breeding were possible and had taken

⁸⁸ It is not known when Stephen Langton was born. While at Paris he had a distinguished career rising to be Rector Scholarum of that University. He was a prebendary both of Notre Dame and of York. The Pope called him to Rome and attached him to His household—raising him to the cardinalature 1206 (Cf. Appendix ii). He died viiiii July 1228.

place, its results might fairly well have taken the shape of such an hyaena as King John. We have in him instances of ungoverned rage in which he certainly qualified for the epithet diabolical. Whether this was due to a devilish ancestry or not, on the receipt of the Pope's letter, John fell into a thoroughly Plantagenet passion; knights of selected barbarity were sent to drive the resident Canterbury monks out of their convent, to the number of seventy; and they afterwards found refuge in Flanders. Meanwhile, John spat an indignant letter of protest to Rome—Langton was a stranger, long resident among the King's enemies at Paris and even now installed abroad—his election was in defiance of the King's rights—let the Roman Pontiff be-think Himself before He angered the King of the English—England sent more of Peter's Pennies to Rome than any other state in Europe; and would send no more—and, finally, the King announced his unalterable intention to proceed to the investiture of the Bishop of Norwich. The Lord Innocent took no notice of these threats; and Himself consecrated Cardinal Langton at Viterbo, xvii Jun. 1207.²⁴ He also wrote to the three premier bishops of England quoting the text "render unto Caesar etc." as justification for His action; and ordered them to place England under an interdict if opposition were made

²⁴ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Anglicanum*, p. 54. [Matthew Paris, ii. 515.]

to the archbishop, who now only needed enthronization to enable him to take possession of the temporalities of his see.

The king, however, was having trouble with his First Estate over money matters; and, when the archbishop of York, his half-brother, pleaded in vain and then cursed him for a robber, he blazed into Angevin anger. Archbishop Geoffrey fled: his property was sequestered and his episcopal revenues escheated. He complained to the Pope: Who in turn rebuked the King and commanded restitution, taking the opportunity also to press Queen Berengère's claims for the repayment of her dowry.

King John refused to accept Cardinal Langton in any circumstances; and that prelate took up his abode at Pontigny, where St. Thomas of Canterbury had lived in exile fifty years before. The king also declined to make reparation to the archbishop of York, or to fulfil his obligations to his sister-in-law. When the three bishops, of London, Ely, and Worcester,⁸⁵ acquainted the king with the pontifical decree, John swore and threatened horribly. "Dentz Dez," cried he, "if you dare to proclaim the interdict, I will pack off all the bishops and priests to the Pope and will take what is theirs, and all the Romans in the country shall return home blinded and noseless,

⁸⁵ William de Ste. Mère Eglise, Eustace of Ely, Mauger of Worcester.

so that they may be recognized all over the world ; and if you value your skins get out of my sight." The king was as good as his word ; and, when the interdict was proclaimed on xxiv Mar. 1208, he took most drastic measures against the clergy : prelates and priests alike were driven pell-mell and wholesale from the kingdom. The fact that the interdict was proclaimed does not seem to have affected the Cistercians, at whom the Pope carped in a letter to the English Bishops Feb. xxi 1209 for massing publicly on village greens and ringing bells.²⁸⁴ Lackland's fury, how-

²⁸⁴ This very curious incident, which must not be attributed to any supposed insubordination on the part of the Cistercians, is explained by the Right Reverend Lord Abbot Wilfred of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, whose only ecclesiastical superior in the Kingdom is the Lord Abbot Carthage of Mount Melleray. The Cistercians of the Thirteenth Century considered themselves to be exempt from episcopal authority ; and they certainly occupied a privileged position with regard to ecclesiastical taxation. The Interdict was published by the three Bishops, William de Sainte Mère Eglise of London, Eustace of Ely and Mauger of Worcester : for a week the Cistercians obeyed it, possibly for the sake of impressing the King : then they disregarded it to vindicate their own position as exempts ; for the only authority which they acknowledged was that of the General Chapter of the Order, or of course that of a Legate. It may perhaps be illuminating to append a small notice of the vicissitudes of this celebrated Order in England at this period.

In March 1200, in order to pay 20,000 marks due to Philip the August, being the Feudal Relief on his succession to King Richard's French dominions, John levied a tax of three shillings on the hide throughout England. Against this impost the Cistercians protested saying that they had no authority to pay until the pleasure of the General Chapter should be known. To which the King replied by outlawing the whole Order in his realm. Archbishop Hubert Walter with difficulty persuaded him to suspend the sentence ; but he refused 1000 marks offered by the Order for a confirmation of

ever, did not entirely blind him to possibilities: while confiscations and escheatments were enforced against the clergy, he took hostages of his principal lords for their loyalty. Then he actually wrote to the Pope offering to restore all his church plunder and to permit the Cardinal-Archbishop Langton and the monks of Canterbury to land: he further offered his own regal rights over the Canterbury lands to the Lord Innocent. The Pope accepted; and appointed the three aforesaid bishops as a commission to examine the matter: for, as he was dealing with an Angevin,

its Privileges and Exemptions (*Cf.* Adams, *Pol. Hist. Eng.* II, 396): but the royal animosity was not appeased, for, in October, the King issued an edict debarring all animals belonging to the Cistercians from the rights of pasturage in royal forests ordinarily enjoyed. As the Order was interested in sheep farming and grazing, this measure was extremely annoying, especially at the beginning of winter. Owing, however, to the death of Great Saint Hugh of Lincoln (xvii Nov.) the King's conscience became active for a time, (he was one of the bearers of the Saint's coffin, and presented a gold chalice to Lincoln Minster); and he relented sufficiently to revoke the outlawry and the pasturage decree, and even to apologize to the assemblage of Cistercian Abbots, who (by the archbishop's very diplomatic advice) had come to plead with the King in Lincoln. This was on xxvii Nov. King John was in a good humour at the time, as Gruffydd ap Rhys and William the Lyon had just done homage, (the latter for his English lordships only). After the apology Lackland went even further: for shortly afterward he actually founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in the New Forest for the Cistercian Order. (*Cf.* Pontifical letter xxvii Mar. 1202, App. VI).

In 1208 (xxiiii Mar.) came the Interdict. This the Cistercians obeyed for reasons stated above. Their lands in common with those of the rest of the clergy were promptly declared to be confiscated. A week later, however, sheltering themselves behind their privileges, the Cistercians disregarded the Interdict, as we have seen. On ii Apr. the Abbot of Beaulieu, the King's own founda-

He suspected a trap of some kind. The interdict (decreed the Pope) was to be raised if all were satisfactory: but the archbishop of York was to be reinstated within three months, on pain of a continuance of the interdict in the Northern Province. This bleak austerity only exasperated the king further, and the situation remained as

tion, was sent off to Rome to offer a certain amount of submission (restoration of the monks of Canterbury, and reception of Langton, "but not as a friend"): this was probably intended to be a basis for plausible but prolonged and purposely fruitless negotiations. Two days later the Cistercian lands were restored. The Order was not particularly concerned with the political events which marked the next years, until October 1210 when the clergy at large and the Cistercians in particular incurred the King's displeasure, on account of the paucity of their financial contributions to his never ceasing demands. He forbade the latter to attend the triennial General Chapter of their Order "lest their piteous complaints should exasperate the whole world against such an oppressor;" and even denied them permission to receive their brethren from abroad until they complied with his wishes. Upon this the monks of Waverley Abbey temporarily dispersed themselves; and fled overseas to St Bertin's Abbey at St Omer. The clergy ultimately paid £100,000: of which the contribution of the Cistercians is variously estimated by different authorities at £40,000, 33,000 marks, and 27,000 marks. Any of these figures would be entirely out of proportion to the relative wealth of the Order in comparison with that of the rest of the Church. We may perhaps find a cause for the royal persecution other than the exigences of finance. The Abbot of Abbots of Cîteaux, Arnaud Amaury, was one of the keenest of the Crusaders who were pressing Raymond VI Count of Toulouse so hard in the Albigeois. Now Raymond was John's brother-in-law and ally. In October 1212 the King began to be afraid. On all sides he saw the enemies of the Pope either lying prostrate or else tottering to their fall at His feet. So with a desperate hope that he yet might be in time to be forgiven, John ceased from his anger against the Order, and even sent the Abbot of Beaulieu again to intercede on his behalf with the inexorable Lateran.

Authorities:—*R. Coggeshall, Matthew Paris, W. Coventry, Rymer, Wendover, Rot. Claus., Annals of Waverley and Margam.*

bad as before. The three bishops (who were in Flanders) were ordered to go to John, and publish his excommunication in his face: but they dared not even go to England. The command was passed on to other prelates: but, not unnaturally, no one dared to obey. A rumour of the impending sentence got about; and Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich and Judge of the Court of King's Bench, announced that his conscience forbade him to serve an excommunicate monarch. The archdeacon of those days was a somewhat important dignitary, fulfilling the duties of diocesan chancellor, and was not necessarily in major orders. As a class, archdeacons enjoyed an ill name for rapacity and oppression, and John of Salisbury debated, "How is it possible for an archdeacon to inherit the kingdom of Heaven?" King John could not afford to ignore so important a person as Archdeacon Geoffrey; so he happed him up in a cope of lead, precluding the slightest movement, and thus starved him to death.

The election of Chancellor Hugh of Wells to the vacant see of Lincoln gave cause for a fresh royal explosion. The elect-bishop was allowed to go to Rouen for consecration, but took himself instead to Pontigny, where Archbishop Langton performed the first official act of his archiepiscopate (at Melun,) xx Dec. 1209. So things went from bad to worse, until in 1212 John's atrocious iniquities caused Pope Innocent to issue a Bull,

absolving his subjects and vassals from their allegiance, pronouncing excommunication on all who had dealings with him, and giving his realm to King Philip the August. Furthermore, King John, being now in the same category as Turks, Jews, Infidels, and Heretics, armed action against the deposed Plantagenet was elevated to the status of a crusade. At this tremendous call of check, the cur-like king cowered and offered amends; and the Pope, willing to forgive a real (or to humiliate a royal) penitent, sent a trusted official of His curia, the subdeacon^{**} Pandolfo, as

^{**} In the matter of Pandolfo, his rank and title, there has not been as much agreement among historians as is warranted by the facts of the case. Shakespeare, Mr J. R. Green, Miss Norgate, and others, unite in according a red hat and a Legatine commission dated at least in 1212 to this celebrated clerk. Miss Norgate even goes so far as to evolve a new rank in the Sacred College for his benefit, that of Cardinal sub-deacon. (Cf. *John Lackland*, ed. 1902, p. 160.) In addition to this, the late Bishop of Oxford borrowed the surname of another Pandolfo, who was really a Cardinal, and uses it for him in the list of Bishops of Norwich. (Cf. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* p. 35.) Still there is some foundation for this posthumous promotion and affiliation. Pandolfo was Legate (though not until 1218): Legates are very often cardinals; and there was a Cardinal Pandolfo Masca. Therefore there is ground for supposition that Pandolfo was Cardinal Masca. But the facts as far as they can be found out tend to upset this loose train of argument. Pandolfo Masca di Pisa was made "subdiaconus sacri palati" (according to Ciacconius) by Pope Calixtus the Second, Who died in 1124. He was made Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of SS. XII Apostoli in Dec. 1182 by Pope Lucius the Third; and died circa 1201.† Consequently he was not Legate in 1213. Our Pandolfo (whose family name is obscure, although we know

* One must not confuse this appellation with that of "Subdeacon of the Holy Roman Church," a title distinct from the cardinalature but generally held by a cardinal.

† There are no further signatures of Cardinal Masca after this date.

nuncio, armed with all Apostolic power. The two met at Northampton. After much plain speaking from the nuncio, King John drew off again, and tried to terrify him by executing a few criminals, including a defaulting clergyman: but, by threatening a priest, he very foolishly afforded Pandolfo an opportunity of asserting the supreme ecclesiastical authority vested in him; and the miscreant clerk was rescued from the angry sovereign's clutches.

Meanwhile, acting under the Pope's commands (which very pleasantly coincided with his own

that he had a nephew of the same name and a kinsman who was Archdeacon of Thessalonika) is always designated in contemporary documents and authorities by quite humble titles:

“Dilectus filius Pandolpus subdiaconus et familiaris Noster” (In a letter to Stephen Langton xv July 1213 in which the Cardinal of Tusculum is called “venerabilem fratrem Nostrum” in contradistinction.

“P. subdiacono et familiari Nostro” in a Breve of xxviii Jan 1213 in which the Cardinal of Tusculum (to whom it is addressed) is called by his titles.

By the Pope	“magistro Pandolfo, ecclesie Romane subdiacono, familiari Nostro” (In the Bull <i>Mirantur Plurimum Aug. 1215</i>).
By Matthew Paris	“domini pape subdiaconus.”
By Wykes	“domini pape subdiaconus.”
In Annals of Osney	“Magister Pandulfus.”
In Annals of Margam	“quidam de capellanis domini pape.”
In State Documents	“domini pape subdiaconus et familiaris” “Dominus Pandulphus subdiaconus Vester”

and in the Calendar of Papal Letters he appears as “papal notary” and “Pope's chamberlain”: nor is there record of any kind that he was ever *made* cardinal.† The fact that the Pope calls him “subdiaconus” only shews that he was not of exalted hierarchical rank:

† John of Ypres in the *Chronique de Saint Bertin* simply says he was a cardinal (*Bouquet*, xviii 604).

aspirations,) King Philip the August, at a great muster at Soissons, declared his intention of invading England to dethrone the deposed king, to restore the banished bishops and remove the interdict, as well as to punish the Angevin for the assumed murder of Duke Arthur of Brittany.

for the term is often applied, so the Rev. Dr. Ehrle, S.J., informs me, as a matter of curial routine to nuncios. § That he was absolutely not of high standing is proved more by the Pope's silence as to any other title for His nuncio, for He invariably proclaimed the quality of His envoys with no uncertain voice in the letters of introduction to the princes to whom they were accredited: to John the nuncio is simply called "familiaris." ||

Pandolfo was never ordained priest while in England, although from 1215 onward he was Elect-Bishop of Norwich. Canon Jessopp states that he can find no record that Pandolfo ever visited his see or was seized of the temporalities thereof: ¶ but, to make up for this he earned a reputation for Roman rapacity in all other dioceses. After he left the country, he was made Legate (having before been only nuncio) by Commission on xii September 1218; and returned to England iii December in the same year, where he achieved new fame as one capable of statesmanship. He steered clear of overt quarrels with Cardinal Langton of Canterbury: but had to resign his Legation owing to that prelate's hostile influence at the Lateran, xix July 1221. Having now severed his connexion with his see and the country in which it lay, he could safely be consecrated Bishop thereof: which was done xxix May by the Lord Honorius Himself. Pandolfo died quite peaceably either at Rome on xvi August ** or at Viterbo on xvi September 1226, †† at which latter place he was buried. ‡‡

§ Cf. the official descriptions accorded to Dukes and Marquesses in State Papers and Proclamations in this country.

|| Letter to King John, xxviii Feb. 1212.

¶ Victoria History of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 227.

** Annals of Waverley, p. 302, and Florence of Worcester, ii 174.

†† Anthony Bek's Book (Lincoln MS.) "Pandulfus, gener Romanus, officio legatus. Anno pontificatus sui quinto XV Kal. Octobr. apud Witerbiam obiit ut dicunt et ibidem sepelitur."

‡‡ Bartholomew Cotton (p. 394) would have it that this Bishop was brought back dead to be buried in the Cathedral Church of the diocese which he had never troubled to visit while alive, as also would Weever in *Funeral Monuments*, p. 869.

But these preparations were in vain. John, unable to trust his English barons to resist the foreign invasion, suddenly climbed right down from obstinate defiance to self-humiliating obedience. Without approving the way in which it was achieved, and at whatever cost to our English pride, one can hardly help admiring the completeness of the pontifical triumph. The Saul among persecutors agreed to all the Pope's demands; and, prostrate before the apostolic envoy, rendered up his kingdoms and regalia, receiving them again on taking the oath as a feudal liegeman to the Holy See;⁵⁷ and further,

⁵⁷ EGO IOHANNES Dei Gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Ibernie, ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero Deo et beato Petro et Ecclesie Romane ac Domino meo Pape Domino Innocentio III Eiusque Successoribus Catholice intrantibus. Non ero in facto in dicto consensu vel consilio ut vitam perdant vel membrum vel mala captione capiantur Eorum damnum si scrivero impediam et remoriam faciam si potero alioquin Eis quam citius potero tali persone dicam quam Eis credam pro certo dicturam consilium quod mihi crediderint per Se vel per Nuncios seu litteras Suas secretum tenebo et ad Eorum damnum nulli pandum me sciente Patrimonium beati Petri et specialiter Regnum Anglie et Regnum Ibernie adiutor Eis ero ad tenendum et defendendum contra omnes homines pro posse meo sic Deus me adiuvet et haec sancta Dei Evangelia. De quibus ne possit in posterum aliquid dubitari ad maiorem securitatem predicte obligationis et concessionis nostre presentem cartam fieri fecimus et aurea bulla nostra signari ac procensu huius presentis et primi anni mille marcas sterlingorum per manum predicti Legati Ecclesie Romane persolvimus.

Testibus Domino S. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo.

W. Londoniensi.	}	Episcopis.
P. Wintoniensi.		
E. Eliensi.		
H. Lincolnensi.		

W. de Gray Cancellario Nostro.

W. de Longa Spada Comite Saresborensi frate Nostro.

K

signed a deed, binding himself and his successors to this tenure of their kingship, xii Oct. 1213.^{**} Pandolfo left England with £8000 for the banished bishops; and the question of Queen Berengère's dowry was shelved.

Of course, now that King John was a communicate vassal ruling over an uninterdicted portion of Peter's Patrimony, he was not a fit subject for attack by the Pope's men. The fury of King Philip the August, when he was told that to

R. Comite Cestrie.

W. Marescallio Comite Penbroc.

Roberto de Rosse.

W. Comite de Ferraris.

S. Comite Winton.

Guillelmo Briwere.

Petro filio Hereberti.

Briano de Insula, Dapifero Nostro.

Datum per manus Magistri Riccardi de Marisco, Archidiaconi Richmundie et Northumbrie, apud sanctum Paulum Londoniensem, tertia die Octobris Anno ab Incarnatione MCCXIII Regni vero Nostri Anno Decimo Quinto.

(*Cod. Dip. Dom. Temp. S.S. Tom. I.*)

** JOHANNES Dei Gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Ibernie, Dux Normannie et Aquitanie, Comes Andegavensis, omnibus Christi fidelibus hanc Cartam inspecturis, Salutem in Domino.

Universitatⁱ vestre per presentem cartam aurea bull^a nostra munitam volumus esse notum quod cum Deum et Matrem nostram Sanctam Ecclesiam offend^erimus in multis et proinde divina misericordia plurimum indigere noscamur nec quicquam quod digne offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo et Ecclesie facienda debita nisi nos ipsos habeamus et regna nostra.

Volentes nos ipsos humiliare pro Illo Qui Se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem Gratia Spiritus Sancti inspirante non vi inducti nec timore coacti sed nostra bona spontaneaque voluntate ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum offerimus et libere concedimus Deo et Sanctis Apostulis Petro et Paulo et Sancte Romane Ecclesie Matri nostre ac Domino Nostro Pape Innocentio Tertio Eiusque Catholicis Successoribus totum regnum Anglie et totum regnum Ibernie.

assail John was now all of a sudden a sin, was only curbed by the desertion of the Count of Flanders.

It is quite possible that it was a case of "a Pope ill-advised" when, during the subsequent struggles between John and his barons, the Lord Innocent was so decidedly of the king's advice. Of course it may be that the Pope considered it detrimental to the moral (as well as to the feudal) interests of the Church to allow King John to

cum omni iure ac pertinentis suis pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum et totius generis nostri tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. Et a modo illa a Deo et ab Ecclesia Romana tanquam fedarius recipientes et tenentes in presentia venerabilis patris nostri domini Nicholai Tusculani Episcopi, Apostolice Sedis Legati et Pandulfi Domini Pape Subdiaconi et Familiaris fidelitatem exinde Domino Nostro Pape Innocentio Eiusque Catholicis Successoribus ac Ecclesie Romane secundum subscriptam formam fecimus et iuravimus—Et homagium etiam ligium pro predictis regnis Deo et Sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo et Ecclesie Romane et Eidem Domino nostro Pape Innocentio per manus predicti Legati loco et vice Ipsius Domini Pape recipientes publica fecimus. Successores et heredes nostros de uxore nostra in perpetuum obligantes ut simili modo Summo Pontifici Qui pro tempore fuerit et Ecclesie Romane sine contradictione deberant fidelitatem prestare et homagium recognoscere. Ad indicium autem huius nostre perpetue obligationis et concessionis volumus et stabilimus ut de propriis et specialibus redditibus predictorum regnum pro omni servitis et consuetudine quod pro ipsis facere debemus (salvis per omnia Denario Petri) Ecclesia Romana mille marcas sterlingorum precipiat annuatim scilicet in festo Sancti Michaelis quingentas marcas et in Pascha quingentas marcas septuagentas marcas scilicet pro regno Anglie et trecentas pro regno Ibernie, salvis nobis et heredibus nostris iustitiis liberatis ac regalibus nostris. Que omnia sicut supradicta sunt rata case volentes perpetuo atque firma obligamus nos et successores nostros contra non venire, et si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum hoc attemptare presumperit quicunque fuerit ille nisi vite commonitus resipuerit cadat a iure regni et haec carta obligationis et concessionis nostre semper firma permaneat.

be hustled or hullaballooed at by his subjects: but then it must also be remembered that Soft-sword had given his suzerain to understand that, granted the opportunity, he would go crusading to the Holy Land, though his letters to the Pope upon the subject can scarcely be taken as records of fact. From whatever motives the Lord Innocent acted, He was at least consistent. The same hand which protected vassal John from King Philip the August in 1213, two years later interfered in his favour against the barons. King John was absolved from his oath to keep the provisions of Magna Carta: and the Lateran lightnings^{**} scorched the barons who dared to

**** INNOCENTIUS EPISCOPUS, SERVUS SERVORUM DEI—
P. WINTONIENSI EPISCOPO, ABBATI REDINGE—ET PANDOLFO
ECCLESIE ROMANE SUBDIAONO.***

MIRAMUR PLURIMUM

et movemur quod cum karissimus in Christo filius Noster Iohannes illustris Rex Anglie supra spem Domino et Ecclesie satisfecerit et presertim fratri Nostro Stefano Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et epis copis eius quidam eorum minus quam oportuerit et decuerit ad sancte crucis negotium, Apostolice Sedis mandatum et fidelitatis prestito iuramentum debitum imo nullum respectum ei contra perturbatores regni quod ab Romanam Ecclesiam ratione Dominii pertinere auxilium non prestiterint vel favorem quasi consciū ne Dicamus socii coniurationis inique quia non caret scrupulo societatis inique qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare—Ecce qualiter patrimonium Romane Ecclesie Pontifices prefati defendant?

Qualiter crucesignatus tuentur imo qualiter se opponunt his qui destruere moluntur negotium Crucifixi. Peiores procul dubio Saracenis existentes cum illum conantur a Regno depellere de quo potius sperabatur quod deberet succurrere Terre Sancte. Unde ne talium

* In this Bull it will be noticed that Pandolfo ranks *after* the Abbot of Reading which would not be the case had he been a cardinal.

combine against their lawful sovereign and the favoured dependent of the Holy See. The Church had won a signal triumph: Peter's Pence and feudal tribute were flowing into Her somewhat depleted coffers: all disputed questions had been settled in Her favour: Her overbearing oppressor was now quite obedient and very humble;—and what were the constitutional aspirations of a distant island in comparison with the necessity of showing the World that the Church knew how to protect Her friends as well as how to punish Her foes. It was distinctly a mistake of judgment on the part of Innocent. True, John's letters to the Pope were utterly misleading. True, Cardinal Langton erred on the side of arbitrariness. But, Innocent knew John's character—cowardly, cruel, treacherous, incapable, thoroughly weak (excepting for wickedness). And He knew Langton's

insolentia non solum in periculum Regni Anglie verum etiam in perniciem aliorum regnorum et maxime in subversionem totius negotii Crucifixi valeat prevalere Nos ex Parte Dei Omnipotentis Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti auctoritate quoque Apostolorum Eius Petri et Pauli ac Nostra, omnes huius modi perturbatores Regis ac Regni Anglie cum complicibus et fautoribus suis excommunicationis vinculo Innodamus et terras eorum ecclesiastico Subiicimus interdicto. — — — — — Universis insuper eiusdem Regis vasallos in remissionem peccatorum ex parte Nostra iniungentes ut contra perversores huiusmodi prefato Regi tribuant consilium et iuvamen.

— — Ne igitur mandatum alicuius tergiversatione valeat impediri excommunicationis causam predictorum cum ceteris que ad hoc negotium pertinuerint Duximus committendam per Apostolica vobis Scripta mandantes quatenus protinus omni appellatione postposita procedatis sicut videritis expedire.

Rymer, *Foeder. Vol. I.* 208.

—brave, capable, ambitious for the best interests of the Church, tactful, strong, diplomatic with unusual sincerity. But John had taken the Cross. Innocent believed that the King of the English was about to fulfil his promise to free the Holy Land. And it was this which blinded a judgement ordinarily so clear-seeing, and at all times so unwaveringly on the side of righteousness, and influenced the Pope in John's favour. The advantage, then, which Innocent won was contemptible, on account of its ephemerality, if on no higher ground ; and there can be no doubt but that, when the first flush of triumph had faded, the Pope regretted that ever a single English mark of King Lackland's minting should have entered the pontifical exchequer. The case of England's humiliation under John is on the whole a fine example of the Roman Pontiff's fallibility in temporal affairs.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCERNING INNOCENT THE THIRD AND THE CITY

Turbulent Rome—Causes of Turbulence—Bad example of other cities—The Lombard cities—Innocent's object—and method—Pisa and Sardinia—1200, Innocent describes Guglielmo da Massa—1202, Sardinians massacre clergy—Pisa's opportunity—Pisan raid on Torres—A matrimonial case—Rival candidates—Pisa gains Sardinia—Orvieto—Rebellious *and* heretical—1199, excommunications—1200, Pietro Parenzi—Parenzi murdered—1209, second Orvietan attempt on Aquapendente—Viterbo—1199, Consuls rebuked—1200, War—1205—Unwinged words—1207, Peace—New Laws—Lawlessness of the Romans—The mind of Innocent—The mind of the Romans—1198, Innocent changes the Roman constitution—The Prefect's Oath—Benedetto Carusomo—Pierleone and Capocci—Rome and Viterbo claim Vitorchiano—Innocent's dilemma—War between Rome and Viterbo—Innocent pleases both—Gabriano and Varni pother—Opportunity of Pierleone and Capocci—1202, Orsini and Scotti feud—Ricardo de' Conti—The Poli estates—Poli *vs.* Conti—Poli gambades and gallery play—Intervention of Pierleone and Capocci—Rebellion—Innocent retires to Ferentino—New democratic constitution for Rome—1203, Elections—Democrats claim Poli estates—Recrudescence of riot—1204, The Pope as pacificator—His diplomacy—A Pierleone senator—Capocci protestant—Civil War in Rome—Pontiff has the sinews of war—Innocent's contempt—Terms of peace—New senate incapable—People invoke Pope—Innocent returns to the *status quo ante*—Review of Innocent's internal policy—System of charity—Famine of 1202—“Panem — et circenses”—Infanticide—Santo Spirito the first Foundling Hospital—Religious Orders—The Trinitarians—Mendicant Friars—Friars Minor—Friars Preachers—Curial Reform—Summary

IT is one of the most remarkable features of the history of the Roman Pontificate that, long

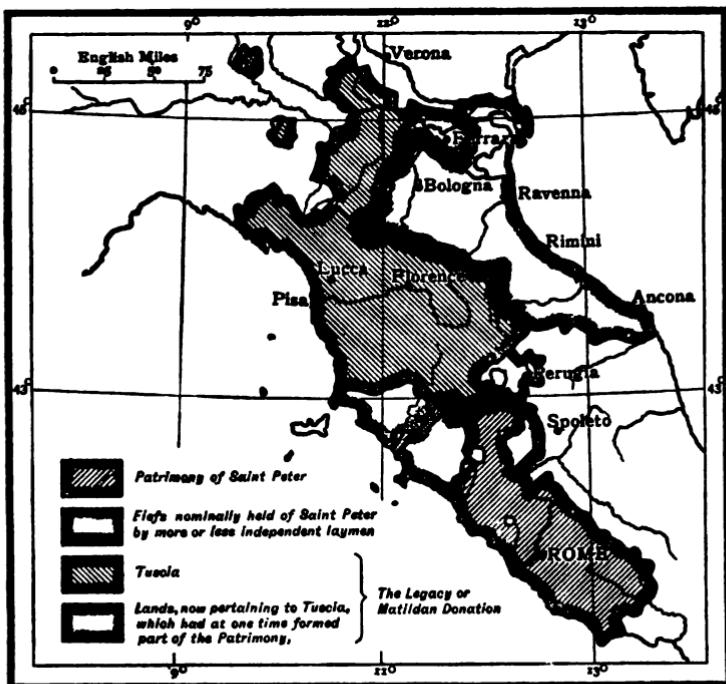
after the Pontiff had become able to wield Christendom at His will, to make and unmake kings and emperors, to compel princes to peace or war, He Himself was almost always in difficulties with His Romans. Rome indeed never seems not to have deserved Tacitus' description of it as the place "where everything atrocious or shameful (he is speaking of Christianity) collects and is practised."⁶⁰

The Lord Innocent's difficulties with the City appear to have arisen from two sources: first, the shocking example set by other neighbouring Italian cities or states; secondly, the notion (maintained as a root idea by the temperamentally turbulent populace) that it stood in a more or less independent position in regard to the Pope.

Among the cantankerous cities and states with which the Lord Innocent had to deal, the Lombard cities in the north with Orvieto, Viterbo, Pisa and the island of Sardinia nearer at hand, are perhaps the most important to be considered.

The following Lombard cities came in turn under the weight of the pontifical flail: Cremona (September 1199–December 1204): Parma and Piacenza sinned in common from 1198 to 1205, when Parma saw the error of her ways and was pardoned, while Piacenza having invented

⁶⁰ extiabilis superstitionis rursus erumperebat . . . per urbem etiam quo cuncta undique atrocias aut pudendas confluent celebranturque. *Ann. XV* Ed. Lipsius, 1524, p. 528.



a fresh sin persevered therein until 1207: Bergamo began to misbehave in 1210 and remained under displeasure, as was also the case with Treviso: Alessandria, a papal city par excellence, was stiff-necked and would obey the Pope in nothing: it persisted through the loss of its bishopric, and in 1213 elected an excommunicate heretic as its rector, whenafter it remained under the Pope's displeasure, ban, and interdict: Verona, Modena, Mantua, Novara, Ferrara, Padua, belong also to the same category. All these cities were insolent to legates, sometimes heretical, always aggressive against the clergy whom they afflicted with outrageous taxes; and, furthermore, they were given over to desolating wars between city and city, and to perpetual civil disorders, in all of which the Church was the chief sufferer.

The Pope's object was to ease matters, to protect the clergy and the property of the Church, and to make life at least endurable for decent and Christian men and women. His method of attaining this object was much the same in every case. If anything could be done by exhortation, Innocent the Third (with His enormous capacity for letter-writing) was the man to do it. When words failed He proceeded to deeds—gentle at first, then severe, finally terrific, and generally effective.

The breves and bulls which issued from the

Lateran seem to have come in the following order:—"Please be good:—"—"You will be sorry if you are not good:—"—"Such and such individual sinners are excommunicated:—"—"Your city is laid under an interdict:—"—"The bishopric of your city is abolished:—"—"All the subjects of your city are outlaws throughout Christendom, and any prince who desires to add it to his dominions will be blessed for doing so." It is not suggested that this procedure was invariably successful. Indeed, in some places, there was no lay prince considerable enough to be named definitely as pontifical commissioner for the restoration of the Catholic Faith, Apostolic peace, and Christian treatment of the clergy; and cities like Bergamo, Treviso, and Alessandria, were as contagious ring-worms on the body of Italian politics. It must however be emphasized that Innocent (Who is spoken of elsewhere as the pioneer of Italian independence) never dreamed of inviting transalpine barbarians to do in Italy what He was perpetually urging them to do in their own countries, namely to consider themselves as Peter's sword to be wielded at the Pope's will against objectionable or contumacious ears.

The affair of Pisa and Sardinia was another of the Lord Innocent's provincial difficulties. The Pope found Sardinia at the very beginning of His reign in an extremely unsatisfactory condition. As far as it could be said to be governed at all, its

rulers were the four hereditary Judges of Torres, Arborea, Cagliari, and Gallura, whose overlord in a very shadowy way was supposed to be the Roman Pontiff. The Judges themselves were "tossports, strikers, deceivers of maidens, and rogues ingrane"²¹; and, what the masterless men (a very mixed stock and addicted to vendette) were, under such governors, it may be useless to describe.

In 1200 Innocent as suzerain kicked (in a spirit of love) Guglielmo da Massa, Judge of Cagliari.

"We hear," He wrote, "that you have returned like a dog to your vomit; and that, plunged in the voluptuousness of the time, you have actually been usurping the rights of the Church instead of respecting Her as your Mother and Mistress. You have stolen the wife of the Judge of Torres, dishonoured her and killed her in prison. By caresses, threats, or violence, maids and matrons, patrician or plebeian, are your victims. You illtreat churches and the clergy, as though they were serfs, with your crushing taxes. You have deposed Pietro di Serra, Judge of Arborea, and kept him in prison until he died. Without waiting for Our investiture or asking Our permission, and to Our loss, you married your daughter to a noble, Ugo di Basso, giving her as dowry half Arborea and reserving for yourself all the fortresses; and yet every one knows that all Sardinia belongs to the domain, jurisdiction, and patrimony, of the Apostolic See. That is not

²¹ Sir Walter Besant.

all. Even your Judgeship of Cagliari you only obtained, on the death of the last Judge, by seizing his wife and daughter, leaving the one to die in prison, and marrying the other, a minor, to one of your kin: although the Judge, on his deathbed, confided them both, as well as his dominions, to the Archbishop of Pisa."

Two years later, finding that His exhortations had failed, the Pope made a definite attempt to establish order and peace in Sardinia, naming the apostolic protonotary Blasio as Archbishop of Torres with full powers. But, in the following year, the Sardinians indulged in a considerable massacre of prelates; and the pontifical threat of excommunication and anathema (to be pronounced every Sunday and Holiday throughout the island) seems to have been simply contemned.

This was Pisa's opportunity: Pisa, the Pope's enemy in Tuscany, and herself under the Great Ban. Pisa, being a maritime republic, and the Pisans of a pushing and commercial temperament, desired to bring Sardinia into both spiritual and temporal subjection to herself and to reduce it to the status of a colony. Consequently, when the Lord Innocent (claiming the island as a fief of Peter's Patrimony in virtue of Carolingian Donations) insisted on oaths of allegiance from the Judges, and urged the local bishops to act for the restoration of law and morality, the incorrigible Sardinians were only too ready to fall into the

arms of the Pisans. The result was the Pisan raid on Torres and the practical enslavement of that division of the island.

This same year Barisone I, Judge of Gallura, died, leaving a daughter Elena, whose marriage fell to Innocent (as legal suzerain of Sardinia) to arrange. Desiring to obtain a definite foothold in the island, the Pope appointed His Own cousin, Trasimondo de' Conti, to marry the lady and thereby to acquire *iure uxoris* the hereditary Judgeship of Gallura. Owing however to Pisan influence on her mother, the girl was coy for three years: which gave the Pisans a chance of providing a rival candidate for her hand in the person of Lamberto Visconti, a citizen of the republic, whom she was induced to marry in 1207. The Pope retorted by sending Trasimondo to incite Genoa (the commercial rival of Pisa) against Sardinia, fulminating by the way excommunications against bridegroom, bride, and the latter's mother. The Pisans, on their part, continued to be Guelf when the Pope became Ghibelline, allying themselves with another of His enemies, the Emperor Otto: but, though Innocent contrived to nullify their efforts in this direction, Pisa remained under excommunication until the end of the reign. The republic was however able to console itself with the possession of Sardinia, of which the Pope henceforth disdainfully washed His hands. By way, however, of getting even with the Pisans, and making them, willy-nilly, instrumental

for good at least somewhere, the Lord Innocent wrote to the Bishop of Gallipoli and the Dean of the Great Church of Constantinople ordering them to compel, with threat of censures, all Pisans in Romania to pay tithes.²²

The case of Orvieto presents a different feature from that of the Lombard cities and the Sardinia-Pisa imbroglio: the place being not only rebellious but heretical as well. In the very year of the Lord Innocent's accession, the Orvietans had tried to steal pontifical Acquapendente. The following year the Catharist heresy broke out very violently. The usual excommunications followed; and the bishop, Ricardo of Orvieto, was transferred to Rome. He appears to have been able occasionally to nerve himself to hang, burn, and behead sectaries, but never entirely to suppress them. In Feb. 1200 the Christian inhabitants of Orvieto succeeded in getting a pontifically-nominated Podesta in the person of Pietro Parenzi: who was promptly murdered by the heretics on xxx May by way of retaliation for the bitter persecution, both physical and financial, to which he had subjected them. It is worthy of note, as an instance of the disorders of the times, that the brave Parenzi, after swearing allegiance to the Pope as Podesta of Orvieto, at once made his will and received plenary absolution in intelligent anticipation of that doom which elevated him, in the eyes of reasonable

²² Letter viii Mar. 1208.

Orvietans, to the rank of a hero and martyr. The city was quiescent after this outburst until 1209, when the inhabitants again made predatory attempts on Acquapendente; and were immediately scorched with interdict and crippled by a fine of 4000 marks.

The case of Viterbo more nearly affected Rome, by reason of its geographical proximity and of the frequent residence of the pontiffs within its walls. At the very beginning of Innocent's reign, we find it cankered with heresy and hankering after independence. On xxv March 1199 He had occasion to rebuke the Consuls of the city and to furnish them with injunctions against heretics. Like all other communities of the period the Viterbitans resisted the pontifical measures as far as they could: failing to turn aside the Pope from His course of unification, they proceeded to worry His class, the clergy, drawing upon themselves in 1200 a threat to suppress the see. After this came the war between Viterbo and Rome (which is treated of below); and, from its close until 1205, the city seems to have behaved itself. But then Viterbo lapsed again into evil ways, exiling its bishop and electing an excommunicated Patarin, one Giovanni Tignosi, as chamberlain of the city.

"Wallowing in your sins," fulgurated the angry Pontiff, "as does a beast of burthen amid its dunghills, the stink of your putridity has corrupted all the region round about." All the dreadful

pains and penalties of excommunication and interdict were launched against those who had dealings with Catharism and every other kind of heterodoxy; and the bishop was restored. But not until June 1207 was there peace, when Innocent Himself went to superintend the cleansing of this Augean stable. Henceforth recusants were to be outlawed, their property confiscated, their houses razed and the sites used as public rubbish heaps. Further, their fautors were to be mulcted of a quarter of their goods and bound over in a new and strict oath of allegiance. As for the lapsed, or *recidivi*, they were to be deprived of the assistance of lawyers and the ministrations of the clergy, nor might they be buried in consecrated ground—which provision would seem to indicate that their execution was regarded as a matter of course. And these laws were to be in force over the whole Patrimony.

On xxiii September 1207 they were promulgated at a sort of parliament, consisting of clerks and lay representatives of the cities of the Patrimony, which was held by the Pope's command. Two further statutes respectively subordinated Civil to Canon Law so far as the clergy were concerned, and prescribed police regulations prohibiting family feuds, private wars, and vendette, —all very excellent from the theoretical point of view: but, in practice, the armed hand rather of a Feudal Lord than of a Shepherd of the

People was required to enforce them. Still they did secure peace to the Patrimony until the death of the Lord Innocent.

With all these hideous examples of anarchy and Donnybrook Fair around it, very naturally Pope Innocent found considerable difficulty in dealing with the City itself. Immediately after His election, Rome swore allegiance to Him and howled for largesse: which was refused until the Pope had received the confirmation of His position by coronation a month later. In the mean time He made inquiries as to the usual amount given, and the minimum amount which could be given; and the donation of the latter sum enraged the Romans more than a total denial of their claim. Then riots began.

It is necessary clearly to understand the minds of the contending parties. The main principles which guided Innocent may be found in His sayings, "Among the People of God, spiritual authority precedes temporal," and "God has placed in the firmament of the Universal Church two great dignities, the Papacy which reigns over souls, and Royalty which reigns over bodies: but the former is immensely superior to the latter." The Romans recognized two officials, a senator exercising authority in the name of the People, and a prefect who nominally represented the emperor—preferring to pretend to obey the Roman Emperor who was generally absent, rather

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than to behave with common decency to their actual and ever present overlord the Roman Pontiff. Even according to Innocent's ideas there was nothing essentially anomalous in this position. Most Popes had been quite as well pleased to treat with the Roman commune (as a separate power with rights of peace and war) as with other papal cities constituted in this manner. The relation of pontiff to commune could quite well have been on a par with that of German prelates in relation to their city governments, or with that of the northern Free Cities which also had sovereign bishops. The one thing necessary to such a form of government is that the lay power should be competent to perform its secular functions; and this the Roman commune emphatically was not. Consequently, taking advantage of the temporary enthusiasm which accompanied His election, the Lord Innocent changed the constitution of the City. Henceforth both senator and prefect were to be pontifical nominees and to swear allegiance to the Pope only. There was nothing violent about this change, as Innocent retained the imperially nominated prefect Pietro Vico, taking from him an oath of allegiance which still survives in the Vatican Archives:—

“In the name of Christ, I, Peter, Prefect
“of the City, swear that I will faithfully care
“for the land which the Lord Pope has
“committed to my charge to the honour

"and perfecting of the Church. I will
"neither sell, let, subinfeudate, nor mort-
"gage, nor in any manner alienate any-
"thing from it."²⁸

Unfortunately the Pope was confronted with the problem of dealing both with a legacy of evil and with present discontent. The evil which men do lives after them; and Benedetto Carusomo, who had usurped the sole senatorship from 1191-1193, had appointed a governor over the Maremma and the Sabina in despite of the Church. This was the first bone of contention: Innocent recovered the districts in question, and thereby came into collision with Giovanni Pierleone and Giovanni Capocci, representatives of the Great Houses who led the democratic party in the City.

These malcontents took occasion to express a grievance against the Pope: alleging that, in recovering the Maremma and Sabina for the Apostolic See, He had robbed the people of Rome: their real reason being (in accordance with the practice of socialists of all ages) to render themselves sufficiently hostile to make it worth the Pope's while to buy them. However, Innocent refused; and Pierleone and Capocci therefore took

²⁸ "In nomine Christi ego Petrus Urbis prefectus iuro quod terram
"quam michi dominus Papa procurandam commisit fideliter procurabo
"ad honorem et perfectum Ecclesie. Non vendam nec locabo nec
"infeudabo nec impignorabo nec aliquo modo alienabo quidquid ex
"ea."—(*Reg. I ccxvij sheet a.*)

umbrage, ranged themselves among the antipapal faction, and watched their opportunity for a conspiracy.

Now it happened that the Viterbitans wished to possess themselves of Vitorchiano, a town near Montefiascone. But Vitorchiano said that it was subject to Rome, probably only meaning thereby that it was not subject to the Viterbitans. Now Rome was nominally at least a pontifical city. Viterbo was certainly a pontifical city, which (with the felicitous opportunism of pontifical cities of the period) had been very Ghibelline indeed when Barbarossa besieged Rome in 1167, shewing its loyalty to the imperial principle by plundering much of Saint Peter's and samsonizing the bronze gates of that edifice.

As a matter of fact there was hardly a penny to choose between the two. Rome itself was never averse from exacting money from the Popes; and had been known to chase living Popes from the City and to pelt the coffins of dead ones with mud, as indeed happened at the funeral of Alexander the Third.*

The dilemma amounted to this: if the Pope awarded Vitorchiano to Viterbo, the Romans would be very angry: on the other hand, if He sustained the Roman claims to the disputed town,

* As an instance of modern persistence of mediaeval traditions in Rome, it is curious to note that the coffin of Pius the Ninth was not only pelted with mud but almost tossed into Tiber as well.

His charming Romans would become puffed with pride and quite unmanageable. Incidentally they would destroy the pontifical city of Viterbo as completely as they had destroyed Tusculum in 1191.

In the war between Rome and Viterbo which naturally followed, Innocent supported Rome just so far as to allow her to recover Vitorchiano and at the same time get very nearly smashed. And then He saved Viterbo, and enabled her to keep her independence. Rome was actually grateful for His help: Viterbo, for His favour. But the democrats accused Him of betraying the interests of the City.

Then the lords of Gabriano and Varni, having stolen some land from the Colmezzo family in the Campagna, refused to obey the pontifical courts: pretending to hold the stolen property from Pierleone and Capocci as representing the commune of Rome. They, of course, complained loudly that a fief of the people should be held in question in a pontifical court. Innocent retorted by sending the Marshal of the Church to desolate the private property of Gabriano and Varni: whereupon Pierleone and Capocci raised the populace (at no time a difficult task); and the Pope was forced to explain the facts of the case to the people. When, however, a government is reduced to having to explain its actions to its subjects, it is in a very poor way.

Next came the feud of the families of Orsini and Scotti: which, after smouldering for generations, broke out in the autumn of 1202, (Sept. xiii – Oct. viii). The Orsini, fat with the nepotism of Celestine the Third, took advantage of the Pope's temporary absence at Velletri to ravage the Scotti, His mother's family, in Rome. Innocent promptly returned to restore order; and Pandolfo of the Suburra, the Senator, imposed an oath of allegiance upon both parties and banished them beyond the walls: Scotti by Saint Peter's and Orsini by Saint Paul's, with all Trastevere between them. One of the leaders, Teobaldo Orsini, was waylaid in the Via Ostiense by the Scotti and murdered: whereat Orsini raised the plebs by parading Teobaldo's corpse, utterly wracked and destroyed the houses of the Scotti, and captured two towers belonging to the Senator.

At this juncture the Pope's main support was His brother Ricardo, whom He had made as rich and powerful as possible, not perhaps altogether without the idea of making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. This Ricardo (the builder of the Conti tower which still exists under the title of Torre di Nerone near the Via Nazionale in modern Rome) had purchased the mortgages on the properties of the House of Poli; and had paid off the debts of Oddo Poli, the head of that family: in return for which he had had the daughter of Oddo betrothed to his son. Oddo,

however, seeing his property out of the hands of the usurers, with the most inconsequent ingratitude tried to recover it ; and actually had the impertinence to sue Ricardo de' Conti for having dispossessed him. This is an excellent example of the way in which the Romans found it safe to bait a Pope or members of the pontifical family : for there was always something to be gained by litigation of this kind, sometimes by force, sometimes by a stroke of luck and always as a concession to secure what one might call the silence of a yelping cur. Honesty and justice did not enter into the question at all.

The case of Poli *vs.* Conti, having to do with a fief, had to be tried in the pontifical courts. The Lord Innocent, with a most foolish generosity, actually offered to pay Oddo Poli's expenses : but this did not suit the plaintiff's book in the least ; and Oddo and a body of his familiars acted the Adamite, stripping themselves naked and running about Rome in and out of the churches, calling all men to witness to what they had been reduced by the overweening pride of the Conti and the Pope's nepotism. After this scandalous proceeding, the gymnosophists further had the audacity to pretend to hand over the fief (which was still *sub iudice*) to the commune of Rome, and then to claim protection as vassals of the City. This was almost certainly done at the instigation of the democratic leaders, Pierleone and Capocci.

The Pope protested ; and ordered His brother to fortify the Poli castles, which he held, pending the judicial decision. The Romans seized the chance of engaging in their favourite pastime ; and revolted. The Senator Pandolfo was besieged in the Capitol, the Conti tower was assaulted and partially burned, and Ricardo obliged to take to flight: while the remains of the tower were escheated to the commune, and the Conti and their adherents outlawed.

The Pope, being no longer safe in the City, retired to Ferentino in May, and later to Anagni where He became seriously ill. Meanwhile the disorders in the City ceased, and the Romans turned from a destructive to a constructive policy. The nominated senatorship was to be abolished, as being an engine of pontifical oppression, in favour of a senate of fifty-six members elected under the control of the democrats ; and in this way a term was to be put to the despotism and nepotism of the Lateran.

The Pope and the commune entered into an agreement that the College of Cardinals (acting in the absence of His Paternity) was to nominate twelve electors, who (in their turn) were to choose the fifty-six senators : when however the elections came on at the end of 1203 the ochlocrats seized most of the electors ; and, by imprisonment and threats, extorted the appointment of senators hostile to the Pope. But Pandolfo, who had held the

Capitol all this time in despite of the various tumults, at length surrendered it to the senators chosen by the uncoerced minority of electors as being favourable to the Pope. The democrats protested and solemnly claimed that the Poli estates should be handed over to the commune pending the verdict of the court, which the turbulence of the City rendered impossible ; and, when the pontifical party (from the security of the Capitol) declined, the democrats set up an anti-senate in the monastery of Santa Rosa. A grave recrudescence of disorders ensued.

The Roman people thoroughly wearied of this state of things, and being by no means satisfied with the demagogues, implored the Lord Innocent to return as pacifier. This He did in March 1204 and made an oration to the people. The fifty-six senators having fallen out of favour were abolished by the Pope, Who very diplomatically took all the wind out of His opponents' sails by naming his mischief-making adversary, Giovanni Pierleone, as sole elector of a sole senator—thus riving the lute of the democrats. This man named his kinsman, Gregorio Pierleone, as Senator, an honest but otherwise colourless character, but well-thought-of as being a Roman of Rome.

Capocci and his section of the democrats, being now left very much out in the cold, would (and could) have no part or lot in these arrangements. They therefore declared, through the mouth of

their tame but schismatic and abolished senate, that the Pope had violated a treaty of 1188 and was therefore deposed. Furthermore they tricked themselves out in fresh titles as "Buonhomini della Commune," and as such were pleased to call themselves a government.

This was the beginning of the very thorough-going war which ensued. Towers were built and burned and rebuilt and again captured: all the Great Houses seized the opportunity of settling old scores and bringing blood feuds up to date. Every one (who could) built a tower, fortified a ruin, or dispossessed a neighbour of his castle; and proceeded to plunder and burn from this base. The Anibaldi, the Alexii, Gilido Carbonis, and the invaluable Pandolfo the ex-senator, helped the Conti and Scotti for the Pope against the democrats under Capocci, who was backed by the Frangipani, Rainerii, and Baroncelli. The fighting went on for days: but, as the pontifical treasury was well filled, the ultimate victory lay with the Lord Innocent. He proposed terms; and, though the arrangements hung fire for some time, they were at last accepted: when Innocent shewed His scorn for the City and its pretensions by investing His brother with the disputed Poli fiefs. The terms accepted on xxvi October 1204 were that four arbitrators appointed by both parties should decide upon a peace. And their decision was that electors nominated by the Pope

were to choose fifty-six senators who should swear allegiance to His Paternity.

But of course this arrangement, being merely the counterpart of the previous one, could not work well: the new senate shewed itself to be singularly incapable; breaches of the peace were unrestrained; and the people besought the Pope to end the matter, which He promptly did by a reversion to the sole senatorship of Pandolfo of the Suburra. This was practically the end of the strife between the Lord Innocent and His Romans: only once more did a crisis arise, in 1208; and then, by merely leaving the City, the Pope brought His pack of curs to heel, and returned a second time "by special request."

Innocent the Third's policy throughout was that of the wise ruler. As for the nobles, He distributed favour for His friends and force for His foes: He assisted the commercial classes by helping them to get their debts paid, avoiding anything in the shape of *novae tabulae*; and by awarding to them the revenues of benefices mortgaged by deceased but foreign prelates.⁶⁶ His works on behalf of the poor were thoroughly in keeping with His position as Vicar of the Poor Man of Nazareth. He established an organized system of charity in the City, and His excellent arrangements for dealing with the famine of February 1202 were infinitely superior to the

⁶⁶ Breve of ii Mar. 1204.

modern system of sporadic and amateur soup-kitchens. The Pontiff undoubtedly shouldered the burthen of the Caesars as far as "panem" was concerned. The populace was doubtless graciously pleased to accept the frequent riots and civic disturbances in lieu of "circenses."

A dream inspired what was perhaps one of His greatest acts of charity: for it is only natural that a temperament like Innocent's should be very strongly influenced by anything in the shape of an occult manifestation. He seemed to be bidden to fish in Tiber—the first cast of the net brought up eighty-seven murdered infants: and the second, three-hundred-and-forty. His attention being thus drawn to the most crying evil of the time, habitual infanticide as blatant as that of the dirty-knuckled⁹⁶ Lakonians, He established xviii June 1204 what is in effect still the Foundling Hospital and Maternity Home⁹⁷ of Rome in the Borgo, which was to be supported by alms collected for the purpose in Italy, England, Sicily, and Hungary. On iii Jan 1208 He ordered the Veroneikon to be carried in great pomp to this hospital of Santa Maria in Saxia (as it was called then) and an annual distribution of food and money in connection with the institution.

⁹⁶ Plato's word.

⁹⁷ This foundation was placed under the care of the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost (whence its modern name), a society founded by Count Gui de Montpellier to do hospital work among the poor.

Another of the Lord Innocent's great foundations is the Order of The Holy Trinity and of Captives, commonly called the Trinitarians,⁹⁸ first established by Jean de Matha and Felix de Valois, and following the Augustinian Rule and dress (differenced by a blue and red cross), with the special additional obligation of redeeming Christians from captivity⁹⁹ among the Moors and Saracens even at the cost of life or personal freedom. Two other great orders, in fact the first and greatest of the Mendicant Friars (altogether apart from monastic institutions) came into being in this reign, the Order of Saint Francis or Friars Minor¹⁰⁰ and the Order of Saint Dominic or Friars Preachers.¹⁰¹ Both Francis and Dominic received from the Lord Innocent encouragement for their novel ideas: although the bulls of formal ratification were not issued until the succeeding reign, that of the Dominicans being dated xxii Dec. 1216, and that of the Franciscans xxviiii Nov. 1223. It may perhaps be superfluous to mention that the Capuchin schism, at present calling itself the Capuchin Order of Saint Francis (O.S.F.C.), did not originate until the reign of Clement the Seventh, more than three hundred years later.

⁹⁸ The church of San Tommaso *in formis* on the Celian Hill contains a mosaic of this period representing Christ between a black and a white slave. Innocent placed the Trinitarians here.

⁹⁹ The Trinitarians were called the "Crutched Friars."

¹⁰⁰ Grey Friars.

¹⁰¹ Black Friars.

Innocent the Third was by no means a man who could only see faults in other people or their habits and manners of government. On the contrary He was fully aware that His Own Curia was wedded to a rather undesirable proclivity—peculation in fact,—that it was bureaucratically pompous and wholly given over to *paperasseries papales*. His chancery clerks were grasping, excessive alike in number and demeanour, and His court was cumbered with chamberlains and useless if ornamental curial hangers-on. With these He was as drastic as with dissenters. The lay household was dismissed, the Noble Guard disbanded, the luxury of the court diminished, vails were stopped, and a schedule of fees drawn up, so that every pilgrim or visitor or suitor knew what he had to pay, instead of having to trust to his power of bargaining with an avaricious horde of venal ecclesiastics. This of course was not pleasing to those whose opportunities for picking and pilfering were thus done away with, any more than it was to those petty officials, chamberlains, and antechamberers, (who lost the daily parade of their self-importance and "little brief authority") when the Pope afforded greater facilities to ordinary people for seeing Him. The Roman court, however, was a living and a growing imposthume upon the body of the Church and a temporary cauterization had only a temporary effect. All the abuses grew up again, venality

was just as pronounced, and all the old evils reappeared as soon as the master hand was gone,—as is but natural.

It will be seen that the Lord Innocent's life as Pope was not built up solely of great deeds, affairs worthy of His mighty intellect, set in compartments like specimens in the show-cases of a museum, which can be dealt with in certain allotted rotation: but was rather a mosaic composed of many brilliantly coloured achievements set in a dull cement of perpetual and grinding worry. The Pope never knew a moment's peace. A difficulty could not be measured by its magnitude, but by its inconsistency. It is not easy, at the best of times, to conduct complicated diplomatic negotiations with differing parties of wildly clashing interests: but how much more must it have added to the toil of the task perpetually to be disturbed by unimportant but offensive trifles, repeated and studied insolence from vainglorious and purely flocculent nobodies secure in their own insignificance, and abrupt and sudden riots at His very door liable at any moment to drive the statesman headlong from His chancery and His papers.

A weak man would have wept himself into a coma with sheer impotent rage at the vastness and overwhelming onrush of the work of the post. He then would have done nothing, and relapsed into the position of a little provincial

canon, wrapped up in his breviary and completely heedless alike of his obligations and opportunities. A merely strong man would have bravely attempted all, wrestled honestly, and gradually succumbed beneath the burthen of his office, happy if his collapse took the shape of death and not an insanity haunted by spectres of the Sisyphean labours which had been his lot.

But the Lord Innocent was a very strong man, possessed of an extraordinary mind and such a capacity for working as is granted to few among the sons of men. He did all the work of His post: light-heartedly made more: did that; and reached out again to find still further scope for His enormous energies. Yet He only broke down once.

He was a very strong man in that He knew, and was not afraid to acknowledge, that He occasionally made mistakes. Even Apollo's bow is not continually bent. He also was strong enough to drop a train of policy, if once (by reason of unheard-of or suddenly-arising obstacles) it ran off the track and its pursuit became unprofitable thereby. Thus He abandoned His Sardinian schemes. He was often ill served. Yet He always made a great effort: accepted the difficulty provided for Him by the carelessness or headstrong rashness of another; and undauntedly dealt with the same to the best of His ability. Thus He, first of western statesmen, seriously grappled with

the Eastern Question as we moderns understand the phrase. This He was compelled to do, because His darling crusade had run amok. Not only was it an immensely difficult task, but its very existence was a bitter disappointment. He had hoped to keep His cherished ideal of the Reunion of Christendom as a hobby, if one may use the word, for His rare spare moments. He had looked forward to matching His theology against that of Orthodox patriarchs, no mean antagonists. He had anticipated being able to persuade (by irrefutable arguments drawn from His store of Paris- and Bologna-won learning) the subtle-minded Greeks; and, by words, to restore the alliance of the Churches which had been wrecked upon words.

It was nearly always a sea of petty details which confronted Him; and He was obliged to wade through these before He could get to work on anything that greatly mattered. Nevertheless, He knew that the details, by reason of their pettiness, must be attended to at once, lest (by neglect) they should blossom out into giant weeds and choke Church and State alike.

One must admire the greatness of His character: one cannot help but pity Him for the infinite weariness with which He was so heavily weighed down.

Finally, one is tempted to wonder whether He would have been hampered, or assisted, if He had

had at His disposal modern methods of communication. It is by no means impossible that the Lord Innocent, armed with telephones and wireless telegraphy, would have staggered humanity into the very wildest hysterical phrenzy by the frequency of His blunt unmincing admonitions, and the passionate attention which He would have demanded to the never-ceasing torrent of instructions, exhortations, congratulations, directions, and damnations, surging in an immeasurable flood out of Lateran over Europe and the known world. But no doubt, under such conditions, He would have perished of "something of the nature of an aneurism" in the very first year of His pontificate.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCERNING OTHER ACTS OF INNOCENT THE THIRD

Problems confronting Innocent—His voluminous correspondence—His aspirations—Holy Land—1211–3, Armenia—Antioch—Tripoli—Jerusalem—1211, Haleb—Kingdom of Jerusalem—King Amaury II—King Hugh I—Queen Marie Yolande—Jean de Brienne, King Consort—Iberian peninsula—July 1212, Battle of Navas de Tolosa—The Byzantine Failure—1207, Russian Rebuff—1198, Serbian success—1202, Bulgarian success—1199, Armenian submission—Church Reform—1202, Mission to Pagan Prussia—1212, Missions to Pagan Lithuania and Livonia—Morals of Polish clergy—Purging of Church in France—Opposition of Princes—King John—1210–1, King Dom Sancho I—King Philip of Swabia—Romanian Princes—Royal matrimonial scrapes—A comparison—Philip the August and Ingebiorg—Alfonso VIII of Leon and Berengère—Marie of Brabant—Otto and Beatrix—Frederick II and Costanza—Ottokar's divorce—Peyre II of Aragon's divorce—Innocent's austerity and leniency—Guiltless children legitimate—Typical matrimonial case—King Philip the August: Queen Ingebiorg: Agnes of Méran—Innocent's other interests—Norway—Sweden—Denmark—Hungary—Bulgaria—1215, Fourth Oecumenical Council of Lateran—The crowd of conciliars—Seventy-two additions to Canon Law—Canon of Mass revised—Heresies condemned—Other conciliar acts—Mendicant Orders

OTHER matters, beside these tedious great emprises of prime international importance, irritated the indefatigable Pontiff by their insignificance, or baffled Him by the distance of the locality in which they occurred from the central brain in Rome. The malice, or imbecility, of an excessive or mulish

bishop could exacerbate the Roman Pontiff quite as much as a vindictive or ungrateful emperor's. To the just mind and clean ideals of the Lord Innocent, the immorality of a parish priest in Norwich, or Radom, was as vexing as the adultery of the King of France: diplomacy could be quite as complicated in Castile or Sardinia as in divided Germany; and the King of Armenia as unamenable to discipline as a Doge. The Lord Innocent began His reign at the early age of thirty-seven, before He had quite realized the difficulties or become fully aware of the labours involved in His new position, with an energy of correspondence which was not equalled in any other year of His reign. He was full of enthusiasm and lust of extending Christianity, Catholic unity, and pontifical power. His letters reflect His aspirations. For extending Christianity, He hoped that a Crusade could be arranged; and, though His constant efforts only resulted at first in the conquest of Byzantium, He did not abandon convictions of final success. The condition of the Holy Land was His special care. He wrote again and again to the princes of the crusading states and the grand masters in the East, urging them to lay aside their differences and unite against the infidel. King Levon of Armenia was excommunicated for robbing the Templars, xvii May 1211, and was not absolved until xxv Mar. 1213. The perpetual misconduct of the Princes of Antioch and the Counts of Tripoli annoyed the

Pope as much as the feebleness of the Kings of Jerusalem grieved Him. At one time, vii Jun. 1211, the Lord Innocent had to appeal to the Sultan of Haleb (one of Salah-ed-din's sons) to protect the Patriarch of Antioch from Prince Bohemond IIII, the lawful sovereign of that city. The complete indifference of Europe at large, toward a Syrian Crusade, prevented the Pope from achieving anything in that quarter of Christendom, beyond the reconciliation of the Armenian Church.

Yet in spite of the poverty of His harvest, the Lord Innocent's labours were arduous. One finds Him there, as elsewhere, commanding and reprobating, excommunicating and pardoning, making people do their duty, stopping quarrels among Christians, and settling disputes among the champions of the faith.

For example:—the Patriarch of Jerusalem, having been rebuked for inefficiency, evil-speaking and general misbehaviour,¹⁰² is told to make haste to effect a settlement about the disputed see of Tyre with his brother of Antioch¹⁰³ and later is charged to cooperate with the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital in the proper distribution of alms sent to the Holy Land.¹⁰⁴ Over this duty he quarrelled so passionately with the autocratic Templar, Gilbert Horal, that he spouted

¹⁰² Letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem xxiii Dec. 1198.

¹⁰³ Ditto iii Jan. 1199.

¹⁰⁴ Ditto Sept. 1199.

excommunications over the entire order. This action he was made to eat;¹⁰⁶ and, soon after, the Pope found it necessary to warn him off the property of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁰⁶ This prelate seems, in spite of the influence of constant admonition, to have died in his violence. His successor, Albert II was, however, more reasonable in his behaviour, for in 1208¹⁰⁷ we find him considered worthy of being legate, and even merit-ing reappointment to that office: which is indeed a contrast with the opinions entertained officially about the dead Monaco. He, almost alone among contemporary Patriarchs of Jerusalem, had so far grown in grace that it was safe to nominate him as arbitrator between the old enemies of his see (the Templars) and the piratically-inclined King of Armenia.¹⁰⁸

Nor were the Blessednesses of the Patriarchs Monaco and Albert II the only recipients of letters from the Pope in Syria. The Templars had to be reminded of their financial obligations toward the Church twice¹⁰⁹ in the earlier part of the reign; and the Hospitallers were reproved for thievish¹¹⁰ and fractious¹¹¹ tendencies. Count Bohemond of

¹⁰⁶ Letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem xv Dec. 1199.

¹⁰⁶ Ditto v Jan. 1200.

¹⁰⁷ Ditto ix July 1208.

¹⁰⁸ Ditto v Mar. 1209.

¹⁰⁹ Letter to the Grandmaster of the Temple xiii Jun. 1199. Ditto
xxx Mar. 1200.

¹¹⁰ Letter to the Grandmaster of the Hospital — Dec. 1198.

¹¹¹ Ditto viii Feb. 1199.

Tripoli shewed a propensity to favour the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch; and had to be threatened in consequence:¹¹² while the Latin incumbent of that see had first to be censured and suspended for excess of zeal,¹¹³ and, later, he must needs be forgiven and reinstated.¹¹⁴ Yet, so feeble was a successor, that both Count Bohemond¹¹⁵ and the Canons of Antioch¹¹⁶ required urging before they would have anything to do with him. All these people were more or less in the fighting line; and attention would naturally be attracted to them on their distant outpost duty. Still the Pope was not on that account blind to the course of affairs in the often obscure middle distance: for we find Him scolding the clergy of Candia for detaining Crusaders in their city and so preventing valuable succours from proceeding to the front.

Innocent the Third seemed doomed to perpetual disappointment in Palestine. In the midst of His efforts to strengthen the vanishing kingdom of Jerusalem by persuading fresh parties of Crusaders to journey thither to fill the places of those who had succumbed to the Saracens, climate, or disease, King Amaury II de Lusignan himself died (1205). His death plunged the Christian East into confusion; and severed the connection

¹¹² Letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem *iiii* Mar. 1208.

¹¹³ Letter to the Patriarch of Antioch *xvii* Mar. 1198.

¹¹⁴ *Ditto* *xxi* Dec. 1198.

¹¹⁵ Letter to the Count of Tripoli *xxvi* May 1209.

¹¹⁶ Letter to the Chapter of Antioch *xxvi* May 1209.

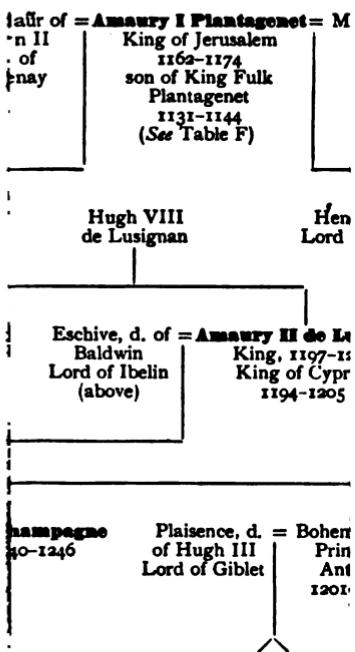
between insular Cyprus and continental Acre (which last alone represented the territorial dominions of the kingdom of Jerusalem) to the immense disadvantage of the latter. King Hugh I, son of Amaury's first marriage, succeeded to the island throne, while a step-daughter — Marie Yolande (daughter of Queen Isabella by her second husband Konrad of Montferrat)¹¹⁷—obtained the continental kingdom: but, as both successors were minors, the condition of both states was reduced to as low an ebb as was consistent with self-preservation. In the selection of Jean de Brienne¹¹⁸ as a husband for Marie Yolande, and King-Consort of Jerusalem, the Pope and Christendom were greatly disappointed: as this prince did nothing to justify the opinions formed in consequence of his previous worthy reputation.

The Lord Innocent's crusading efforts in the

¹¹⁷ This Konrad, at one time decorated with high Byzantine titles in virtue of his family connection with the Court of the Boukoleon, had married the unhappy Queen Isabella [wholly regardless of the continued existence of her first husband Henfrid of Toron] whereby he acquired the marital title of King. He earned and deserved unpopularity among the Syrian Franks; and finally perished by reason of a misunderstanding with the Old Man of the Mountain. Sir Walter Scott, for the sake perhaps of euphony, calls him Marquess of MonSerrat in *The Talisman*.

¹¹⁸ Jean de Brienne was younger brother to that Gaultier whose claims to the County of Lecce are treated in the chapter concerning Sicily. After being a failure in Syria he succeeded in marrying his daughter by another marriage to Baldwin II Emperor of Romania, over the remnants of which state he reigned as Emperor-Regent with as much brilliancy and success as he had displayed on his former throne.

3—KINGS OF JERUSA





West, on the contrary, were crowned with complete success. He found the various kings of the Iberian peninsula in a condition in which they were as likely to ally themselves with the Moors as against them: two of these sovereigns were in serious disgrace with the Church. A consistent policy—[whereby the Spanish kingdoms were taught:—(1) To obey the Holy See:—(2) To unite against the infidel on the one hand and the heretic on the other:—(3) To acknowledge the primacy of Castile, at least in matters ecclesiastical, and so by logical stages to regard that kingdom as temporal hegemon of the peninsula as well]¹¹⁹—brought its own reward to its untiring author, in the knowledge that He had been the instrument whereby the safety of Christianity was assured, on one side (at least) of Europe, in the glorious victory of Navas de Tolosa. It was most certainly due to the Lord Innocent, and to Him alone, that on that xvi July 1212 the King of Castile commanded a Christian army whose wings served respectively under the Kings of Aragon and Navarre, an army composed of the flower of Spanish chivalry as well as the full strength of the Spanish Orders arrayed under their Grand Masters under the eye of militant bishops and shoulder to shoulder with the levies

¹¹⁹ Innocent definitely accorded the ecclesiastical primacy of All Spain to the see of Toledo in a breve sent to Archbishop Rodrigo *iii* Mar. 1210.

of the cities. Never had Spanish Christendom been so united: never did the Crescent experience such drastic treatment from the arms of the Cross. En-nacer the Moorish sovereign left a hundred thousand of his people dead upon the field. The disaster of Alarcos was avenged and the future of the Iberian peninsula definitely acquired for Europe.¹²⁰

The Pope's negotiations for securing Christian Unity were more variegated in their results. Letters addressed to the Basileus Alexios III of Byzantium, (1198-1199) [see p. 59] persuaded him from an armed attack on Cyprus, but failed to teach him that the true relation of the Orthodox to the Latin Church was that of a daughter to her mother. A fictitious union of the Churches, such as was afterwards brought about by the Fourth Crusade, fulfilled neither the desire of the Lord Innocent nor His design.

Cardinal Gregory's mission in 1207 to Russia was a failure, owing to the hatred for the Latin Church inspired by the sack of Byzantium; and the Russian Church refused to share in a Catholicity which took its tone from Rome.

The Pope was able to come to more satisfactory terms with the Serbians in 1198, and the Bulgarians in 1202. In return for the pontifical confirmation of their titles, the princes of these

¹²⁰ There was one fly in the ointment however. In spite of the Pope's repeated charges in favour of Toleration for Jews, the Spanish crusaders whetted their courage and their swords by a massacre in the Jewry of Toledo just before the opening of the campaign.

countries, together with their vassals, agreed to consider themselves members of the Roman Obedience.

The Armenian Church also made its submission in 1199; and who knows what the persevering diplomacy of the greatest canonist and statesman who sat on Peter's throne for a thousand years, might have achieved with the Byzantines, if only He and they had been unembarrassed by the Fourth Crusade?

The whole Church was reformed and extended at the hands of Innocent the Third. He recast the Canon of the Mass. Missionaries to the Pagan Prussians were encouraged; and the support of the Duke of Pomerania was secured on their behalf, xiii Aug. 1202. In a letter to the Grandmaster of the Knights of the Sword, Jan. 1212, that Order was commended for its endeavours to introduce Christianity among the Lithuanians and Livonians; and, if the sword were used as a preliminary to the baptismal shell, it must be remembered that the only efficacious argument understood in that age was that of force, and that the heathens used lethal weapons to resist conversion. The manners and morals of the clergy in Poland left very much to be desired, and, though His information as to the names (and in some cases the actual dioceses) of the offenders was extremely vague, the Lord Innocent wrote voluminously to the bishops of that country

urging immediate reformation. His information however was at least ample enough to enable Him to confirm grants of lands made to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in that country.¹²¹ We have already noticed His display of energy in purging the French Church from its spiritual heresy and temporal rebellion, evils at which the Lord Innocent had been unable to wink in the manner of His predecessors. But, beside this, He had also to arrange the dispute with King Philip the August, who had been quarrelling with the brother bishops of Orleans and Auxerre (Manasses and Guillaume de Seignelay), over their refusal to serve in the feudal levy excepting when the king led it in person.

The ingrained habits of the time seemed to make it natural for princes to oppose the Church, whenever they had the opportunity. King John of England did so, (first) from avarice (second) from revenge for punishment inflicted on him for his misbehaviour. King Dom Sancho I of Portugal had to be rebuked for the same reason in 1210 and 1211, having indulged in wholesale confiscation and plunder of Church property. The Swabian King Philip of Germany, and the Germans in Sicily came under the pontifical flail on account of the same offences: while, in the Empire of Romania, every prince, from the highest to the lowest, sought to grow rich at

¹²¹ Breve xiii Oct. 1208.

the expense of the Church. The Lord Innocent had to write countless letters, to employ legates, and to put in motion the whole machinery of diplomacy and apostolic power, in order to save His charge from being stripped of Her revenues, robbed of Her fabrics, and deprived of the services of Her officials: for, however horribly the more enlightened Twentieth Century may feel called upon to sneer at the ethics of the early Thirteenth, it would be hardly safe to deny that Innocent the Third had enormous responsibilities, was fully conscious of them, and fulfilled them in (for Him) a singularly efficient manner.

He had a great deal of trouble with the matrimonial affairs of the kings of Europe, troubles from questions of divorce or of marriage within prohibited degrees, troubles in arranging suitable (or preventing undesirable) alliances, troubles about proposals of marriage which constantly came at awkward moments imperilling the success of carefully laid trains of policy.

It is curious and not uninstructive to note how very much more lax the Nineteenth Century was in matters matrimonial than the early Thirteenth. In Pope Innocent's time, the Church severely vetoed (as incestuous) the marriage of first cousins once removed. In the Nineteenth Century such unions were of almost everyday occurrence, particularly among the aboriginal¹²² Roman Catholics of

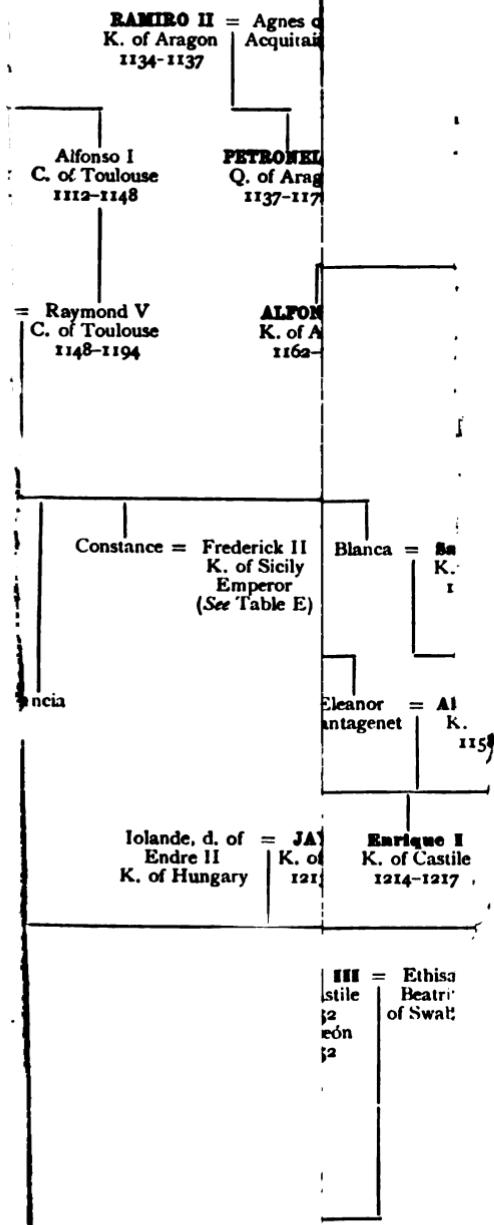
¹²² Cardinal Newman's epithet.

England; and, in the same century there were no less than four royal marriages of uncles and nieces in a single family—in the case of King Don Fernando VII of Spain and his brothers Don Carlos and Don Francisco: these being in their turn further complicated by the marriage of the children from these unions of Don Fernando VII and Don Francisco.¹²²

King Philip the August had repudiated his newly-wed Queen, Ingebiorg of Denmark; and it was difficult for the Pope to threaten him with interdict on account of this conduct at one moment, and to rely upon him for assistance in the Crusade at the next. King Don Alfonso VIII of Leon on the other hand, with but little less pertinacity than King Philip, insisted on marrying his cousin Berengère of Castile. The Pope found it His duty to unite the French pair, and to separate the Spaniards, conceding however reluctant legitimation to the offspring of the latter union. At another time, He had to warn the Duke of Brabant that his daughter Marie's marriage with King Otto would not be permitted, and to labour to secure the union of that monarch with Beatrix, the daughter of his rival. Again, it was necessary to marry the King of Sicily to a girl, Doña Costanza de

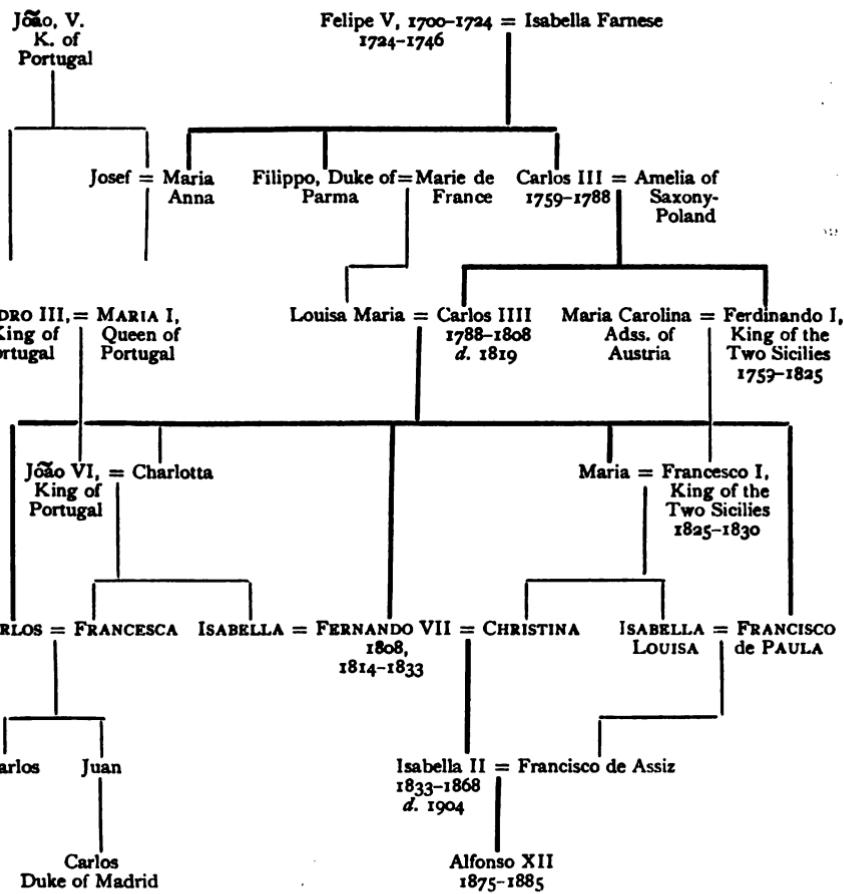
¹²² The subjoined table shews clearly the deplorable system of inbreeding sanctioned by the Church in the Nineteenth Century. I have not thought it necessary to give details of the marriages of a similar consanguinity which have taken place in the Houses of

TABLE H—FRA



Aragon, who could bring a dowry of men-at-arms to save the bridegroom's kingdom from disruption. The newly recognized King of Bohemia wished to be rid of his wife, who was no longer the daughter of the elect-emperor. Even the

Bragança, Savoy, Este and Rohan within the last hundred years: but the Dowager Duchessa d'Aosta, whose husband was her uncle is still alive.



King of Aragon, crowned by the Pope Himself, and much trusted, had to be denied when he applied for leave to get rid of his wife.¹²⁴

If the Lord Innocent were stern in commanding and insisting that the Church's laws should be respected, He was at least diplomatic in His treatment of princes who obeyed Him. While He was as austere as any moralist might wish in rebuking sin and resisting sinful unions or disunions, He was more lenient and more just than are modern law makers, in that He did not visit the sins of guilty parents on their innocent children. He invariably legitimated the offspring of these disputed unions, and declared them capable of succession: e.g. the children of Agnes of Meran and of Berengère of Castile.

The first action which the Pope took in the matter of Queen Ingebiorg, was in His epistle of xvii May 1198. King Philip the August had repudiated her on the morrow of her marriage; and had "re-married" Agnes of Meran. Innocent compelled the king to separate himself from Agnes, by means of an Interdict, Sept. 1198, though Philip flatly refused to live with his true wife. Agnes's children were legitimated on ii Nov. 1201. There had been a short-lived reconciliation with Queen Ingebiorg in the summer of 1200: but the king had been so disgusted that he clapped her in

¹²⁴ Cf. The Bull *Cum Quanta Gloria*, xvii Jun. 1206, and Innocent's Epistle, containing refusal of divorce, dated xviii Jan. 1213.

prison; and not till 1212 did he restore her conjugal rights. During this time, Innocent issued ten epistles to Philip, solely on the subject of his ill-used Queen, and referred to the matter in several others addressed both to him and to the French bishops. At the same time His Paternity very frequently wrote to console the injured consort: but it is impossible to say whether the tardy justice, which at length accrued, was due to pontifical admonition or to the king's own inclinations.

While at one time Innocent the Third had to watch over the interests of a wronged Ingebiorg, an orphaned Frederick, or a persecuted clergy, at other times He had to protect a weakened kingdom, to reduce an arrogant monarch to subjection, while simultaneously keeping His house in order in Rome. Yet, amid turmoil, pressure of work, and conflicting interests of person, family, politics, and the clergy, which were always claiming the pontiff's attention, Innocent was able to spare time, nevertheless, for interference on behalf of the outcasts of Asia and the trampled worms of Europe, the Jews. Out of all law, excepting the King's will, the Jews were permitted to grow rich by that usury which they alone (according to the Church's teaching) might practise,¹²⁶ in order that (when the time was ripe) they might be squeezed financially (and sometimes physically) for the royal benefit. Not-

¹²⁶ In a letter to the Bishop of Modena, embodied in Innocent's Decretals, He defines the limits of usury.

withstanding the horribly blasphemous secret rites to which they seem to have been addicted at that period, Innocent tried to prevent Christian resentment from degenerating into indiscriminate or habitual carnage. He saved the Jews from torment in Paris, from imprisonment and dangerous favour in Castile,¹²⁶ and He prohibited the favourite popular pastime of compulsory baptism for Jews. On xv Sept. 1199, He wrote :—

“ Let no Christian by violence compel them [the Jews] to come dissentient or unwilling to baptism. Further let no Christian venture maliciously to harm their persons without a judgement of the Civil Power, or carry off their property, or change the good customs which they have had hitherto in that district which they inhabit.”¹²⁷

In dealing with Norway, the Lord Innocent's chief task was to terminate the civil disorders consequent upon the disputed succession to the throne. Three usurpers—Ion Kurling, Sigurdr, and Ingi,—had fought for the Crown from 1185 to 1202, when, owing to the action of the Archbishop of Trondhjem the apostolic ablegate, three legitimate sovereigns (Haakon IIII, Guthorm, and Ingi II) reigned in succession. The Pope had also to keep an eye on

¹²⁶ Cf. epistle to King Alfonso VIII of Castile, v May 1205. (Appendix VI.)

¹²⁷ *Ut nullus Christianus invitos vel nolentes eos (Iudeos) ad baptismum per violentiam venire compellat. Nullus etiam Christianus sine potestatis terre iudicio personas eorum nequiter ledere vel res eorum violenter auferre presumat aut bonas quas hactenus in ea in qua habitant regione habuerint consuetudines immutare.*

Sweden,¹²⁸ where the Church was less privileged than elsewhere. Among a people still so largely pagan as the Swedes, it was a matter of considerable importance to secure the clergy from being haled before lay courts. An Epistle on the subject was sent to King Sverker II, xii Jan. 1206.

In Denmark, the Pope had to interfere in the case of the ambitious bastard, Bishop Valdimar, who aspired to the Crown.¹²⁹

In Hungary, when the royal power was at a very low ebb, the Lord Innocent had to interfere for the double purpose of protecting King Imre from his brother Endre, and the Bishop of Waipen from the King. In the same year (1203) He had also to protect the brother from the King, and the King from the results of the quarrel for precedence between the wealthy and powerful archbishops of Gran and Kolocz. The Pope was able, however, to induce Imre to take the Cross; and was obliged to upbraid the Venetians most bitterly when they attacked Zara, which was in the dominions (so the King asserted) of a crusading prince. It was the King of Hungary, moreover, who was opposed at first to

¹²⁸ Sweden was still very much of an outpost of Christendom; and occasionally suffered reverses at the hands of the very pagans whom she tried to convert, both in the upland country and in Finland. A heathen foray, in which the Wends destroyed Sigtuna, led to the formation of the present capital called by the crusading King Knut I Stoke Holm—the Island of the Pious.

¹²⁹ Letters to King Valdimar II, Jan. 1206, Mar. 1208, and to Elect-emperor Otto, ii Jul. 1209. (Appendix VI.)

the Lord Innocent's Bulgarian policy. He, however, having no strong foundation of power at home on which to stand, gradually gave way; and the Pope had the pleasure of bestowing—and the Tsar Kaloyan of receiving—a royal crown and sceptre, together with the kingly title over Bulgaria, the right to strike money, and a primacy for the Archbishop of Tyrnovo, who was to crown him. The new Primate had to swear: To be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, the Holy Roman Church, the Lord Innocent, and all His Catholic successors, to undertake nothing detrimental to Their life or liberty, to advise no man to Their hurt, to maintain the honour, dignity, and rights of the Apostolic See, to attend councils when summoned, to exact the same oath from all bishops, and to make all the kings of Bulgaria swear before coronation that they, their people, and their kingdom would be devoted to the Holy See. This was the result of the union of Bulgaria with the Roman Church; and the Pope could congratulate Himself on a genuine triumph on the banks of the Danube. The Bulgarians indeed, with the hankering of the savage for the gorgeous, and suffering apparently from the same megalomania which prompted decadent Byzantium to compensate each successive loss of power by a fresh inflation of titles—(Sebastos,—Protosebastos—Sebastokrator—Panhyppersebastos)—took the proverbial ell instead of the proffered inch. Having obtained an insight into the value

of hierarchical dignities from the unwillingness of the Pope to grant them too high an ecclesiastical precedence, they bourgeoned out into all the glory of a Tsardom with its concomitant of a Patriarchate instead of being content with mere Kingship and Primacy accorded to them by the Lateran. This piece of impertinence would appear to have passed unnoticed for some time as, seemingly, there was no person in the Lateran sufficiently versed in the barbarisms of the Bulgarian language to know what that people were saying about the difference in the value of titles when pronounced in that tongue.

It is a far cry from the Danube to the Shannon, yet the Pope in His eagle-eyed purview of even the limits of Christendom found time to rebuke the petty King of Connaught¹⁸ for violating the rights of sanctuary during some of the perennial disturbances in the West. This chieftain, by strict obedience to the papal will, was considered to have deserved so well of the Lateran that he was honoured with an individual invitation to attend the Oecumenical Council.¹⁹

Even before His election to the Supreme Pontificate, the Lord Innocent had advocated an Oecumenical Council; and, at last, in 1215, He was able to open the session of the Fourth of Lateran, before which He deigned to discuss many of His troubles. The invitations were

¹⁸ Letter to King of Connaught Sept. 1200.

¹⁹ Ibid. xviii Apr. 1213.

issued in rather a curious way, and some remarkably phantastic persons were summoned, e.g. the kings of Lumbricia, Corkaia, and Min-diensia. This epoch-marking assemblage was very numerously attended, by the Patriarch Rudolf of Jerusalem, two rival *soi-disant* Patriarchs of Constantinople, the Maronite Patriarch, Jonas of Antioch (an ex-heresiarch), seventy-one archbishops, (among whom was Rodrigo of Toledo, the Mezzofanti of the Council), four hundred and twelve bishops, nine hundred abbots, priors, archpriests and other clerks, all the Grandmasters (either in person or by proxy), ambassadors from an emperor, an ex-emperor, and an elect-emperor, envoys from the Kings of England, France, Aragon, Hungary, and Cyprus, and so many other persons that the unhappy Archbishop of Amalfi perished from suffocation in the crowd, and one authority states that three other bishops met with similar disaster. Seventy-two additions to Canon Law were the work of this Council. The new Canon of the Mass (as revised largely by the Pope Himself) was adopted: several heresies and their inventors were condemned; and it was made a crime, entailing the minor excommunication *latae sententiae*, to preach without episcopal license. The Council also dealt with a vast number of subjects, such as the Faith, the Divine Office, the Constitution of the Church, Morals, Position of Clerks in

judicial matters, the rights of Jews, and the corporeal appearance and the precise status of Angels. It also delivered judgment upon Count Raymond of Toulouse, deciding therein that the Comtat Venaissin was to become an appanage of the Church.¹⁸² It also reported in favour of the newly devised Mendicant Orders of Preaching Friars, the Grey and the Black — now known as the Religions of Saint Francis and of Saint Dominic. The Acts or Canons of the Council were translated into Greek, according to precedent.

The Lord Innocent had looked forward to this Council as being the culminating point of His life; and, in His choice of a text for the sermon which He preached before the first session, He indicated a prevision of His approaching end.

¹⁸² This is the name for the territory of Avignon which remained a Papal city until the French Revolution, and was (as such) claimed by the Holy See at the Congress of Vienna.

CHAPTER X

CONCERNING THE CHARACTER OF INNOCENT THE THIRD

Faithful—Just—Patient—Persistent—Honourable—Strict—Diplomatic—Respectable—Forgiving—Friendly—Opinion of Brother Salimbene, a Friar Minor—Innocent's personal appearance—Innocent the Great—Vicar of Christ—His versatility—A great letter-writer—His sermons—His motto—Jul. 1216, Death of Innocent the Third

PERHAPS the main characteristic of Innocent the Third was His lifelong fervence for the Faith, and single-hearted ardour for God-service. He was just—in an age of oppression and perjury. He was patient, and more prompt to see good in Man than evil. He could, and did, most manfully persist in any scheme of policy, when he considered it duteous so to do. Honourable and strict in his engagements, He was in no way a timid politician, but rather a brilliant diplomatist. If He made a mistake at all in statecraft, it was the mistake of believing other people to be as capable as Himself, and this led Him to trust overmuch to the senses and the judgments of the inferior persons whom (for want of better) He was compelled to use as His legates. His

parts were such, that He would have been distinguished in almost any career, and, as Supreme Pontiff, it cannot be said that He missed any of the more salient opportunities which were afforded for showing of what character His metal was. Though he was not invariably obeyed, He certainly was respected by His Romans: while, from recalcitrant foreigners, He actually did exact a very satisfactory measure of submission. He presented a mitre and an emerald ring to every bishop who visited the Threshold of the Apostles. He never showed any hesitation in pardoning His enemies (who, by-the-bye, were always the enemies of the Church as well). He was fast in His friendships: though friendship was never allowed to blunt the biting edge of pontifical admonition for the good of the soul of a friend.

Brother Salimbene di Adamo¹⁸⁸ says of the Lord Innocent:—"The Church flourished and thrrove in His days, holding the lordship over the Roman Empire and over all the kings and princes of the whole world. Yet this Pope sowed the seeds of the cursed dissensions between Church and Empire, with His chosen Emperors Otto the Fourth and Frederick the Second, whom He exalted and entitled son of the Church: but herein He may be excused that

¹⁸⁸ Cf. the translation of Br. Salimbene's Chronicle [1221-1288] in Mr. Coulton's "*From Saint Francis to Dante*," 1906, pp. 255-6.

He meant well. And note that the Pope was a bold man and stout of heart. For once He measured on His Own person the Seamless Coat of the Lord: and He thought how the Lord must have been of small stature: yet, when He had put on the Coat, it seemed too great for Him: so He feared and venerated the relic as was seemly. Moreover, He would sometimes keep a book before Him when He preached to the people; and, when His chaplains asked Him why He did this, being so wise and learned a man, He would answer and say, 'I do it for your sakes, to give you an example: for ye are ignorant and yet ashamed to learn.' Moreover He was a man although, as the poet saith, He mingled His business at times with mirth. He corrected and reformed the Church services, adding matter of His own and taking away some that others had composed: yet even now it is not well ordered, as many would have it and as real truth requires.'

Other contemporary writers speak of Him as:—

"vir summe litterature et eloquentie, vir alti cordis et alti concilii :¹⁸⁴

litteratura clarissimus et facundie singularis :¹⁸⁵

vir clari ingenii, magne probitatis et sapientie
Cui nullus secundus tempore Suo :¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Lambertus Parvus, *Chronicon*, V 56.

¹⁸⁵ *Chronicon Turonense*, V 1057.

¹⁸⁶ Rigordus, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, V 60.

per vite merita et sapientie magnitudinem Innocentius meruit appellari :¹³⁷

nec similem Sui scientia facundia decretorum et legum peritia strenuitat : iudiciorum nec adhuc visus est habere sequentum :¹³⁸

multum varius Papa :¹³⁹

vir strenuus et litteratus et Qui in multis causis honori et utilitate ecclesie cognoscitur profuisse :¹⁴⁰

gloriosus¹⁴¹ fuit in omnibus factis Suis :¹⁴²

fuerat pusillus statura sed pulcher, sapientissimus in trivio et quadrivio¹⁴³ in theologia ceteris prestantior ingenio velocissimus eloquentissimus facundus lingua expeditissimus vox Eius sonora et si suppresse proferebatur audiebatur ab omnibus et intelligebatur. Aspectus Eius reverebatur ab universis et timebatur :¹⁴⁴

vir magnificus et prudens cuius magnanimitas et constantia super alios homines excellebat :¹⁴⁵

fuit vir perspicacio ingenii et tenacis memoriae in divinis et humanis litteris eruditus sermone jam vulgari quam literali discretus—statura mediocris

¹³⁷ Honorius P.P. III, First Encyclical.

¹³⁸ *Chronicon St. Pet.*, III 242.

¹³⁹ *Chronicon Mon. St. Albans*.

¹⁴⁰ *Chronicon Montis Sereni*.

¹⁴¹ Gloriosus must be taken in its mediaeval and not in its classical sense.

¹⁴² *Chronicon ex Pantheo*.

¹⁴³ The Seven Liberal Arts of the Middle Ages, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, were called respectively *trivio* and *quadrivio*.

¹⁴⁴ Annibale Mariotti, I c. 423.

¹⁴⁵ *Annal. S. Iustinae Patav.* xix 151.

et decorus aspectu, medius inter prodigalitatem et avaritiam sed in eleemosynis et victualibus magis largus — — — severus contra rebelles et contumaces sed benignus erga humiles et devotos — — Fidei defensor et haeresis expugnator, in iustitia rigidos, sed in misericordia pius, humilis in prosperis et patiens in adversis.”¹⁴⁴

Regarding Innocent's personal appearance, the picture in the *Sacro Speco* at Subiaco shews Him with ears outstanding from an oval face, the eyes close together and slightly oblique in regard, the long thin nose of the dominator, over the minute mouth of the ascetic depressed at the corners, the large strong chin and the wrinkled brow of the statesman.

Innocent the Third was a good strong man, a brilliant statesman, and a great Pope; and, in the main, successful in the results of His pontificate. No one knows why He is not known in history by Albert von Beham's appellation, **INNOCENTIUS MAGNUS**: for He is one of the few Pontiffs (or men either, for that matter) who have sufficient force of character, coupled with perseverance and acumen, to be great even were they taken out of their century, and set down in some other period of History. Those who love watching a contest between great men, will regret that history never can tell how the Lord Innocent would have dealt with King Henry VIII Tudor, the Kaiser Charles

¹⁴⁴ Raynaldus.

V, the Emperor Napoleon I, or with the various forces (including the Company of Jesus) which were concerned during the last century in the making of *Italia Unica e Libera*.

It would not be sane for His panegyrist to deny that Innocent the Third was proud. The fact is categorically recorded. He was a haughty pontiff in the first intention of the term—not in or for Himself, but in virtue of His office. From His desire to magnify the power and glorify the prestige of the Apostolic See, He used the title of Vicar of Christ,¹⁴⁷ and applied the name Crusade (which hitherto had borne a definite and local meaning) to military expeditions undertaken at His command for the benefit of the Church.

Possessed of an immense fund of tireless energy, the Lord Innocent could not fail to be an active man: yet the subjoined itinerary of the entire pontificate will shew how often He denied Himself a summer *villegiatura*, and mewed Himself up in Rome, when He found that the press of public work

¹⁴⁷ It was on His assumption of this title, that (for some reason or other) the Lord Innocent obtained the reputation of being an interpreter of dreams; and people were used to come from all parts of Italy demanding explanations of their nightmares. The following note from Maitland's *Dark Ages* (p. 424) may perhaps take the wind out of the sails of those who regard the title "Vicar of Christ" as a piece of pontifical impertinence:—

"Jacobus de Vitriaco (who wrote early in the Thirteenth Century) says 'Ipsa terra Jerosolymitana patriarcham habet, qui et fidei peritos et Christianorum pater et *Vicarius Jesus Christi*;' Hist. Orient. ap. Mart. iii. 227. Solomon, too, Bishop of Constance (Ninth Century), addressed Bishop Dado 'Discrete Antistes, venerande *Vicarie Christi*.' Bib. Par. supp. ii. 825."

demanded this sacrifice. It also affords a clear idea of the Pope's movements and residences throughout His reign:—

	First Letter		Last Letter		From
1198	Jan. viii	.	Jul. xv	.	Rome.
	Jul. xix	.	Aug. xv	.	Riete.
	Aug. xxi	.	Sep. ix	.	Spoletō.
	Sep. xi	.	Sep. xxvi	.	Perugia.
	Oct. ii	.	Oct. iv	.	Todi.
			Oct. v	.	Amelia.
	Oct. vi	.	Oct. xii	.	Civita Castellana.
	Oct. xvi	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1199	Jan. i	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1200	Jan. i	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1201	Jan. i	.	Jul. iii	.	Rome.
	Jul. xi	.	Oct. i	.	Segni.
	Oct. v	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Anagni.
1202	Jan. i	.	Feb. xxi	.	Anagni.
	Feb. xxvii	.	Jul. xv	.	Rome.
	Aug. vi	.	Sep. v	.	Subiaco.
	Sep. xiv	.	Oct. ix	.	Velletri.
	Oct. xxix	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1203	Jan. i	.	Apr. xxx	.	Rome.
	May iii	.	May xi	.	Palestrina. ¹⁴⁸
	May xiv	.	Sep. xv	.	Ferentino.
	(The Pope was ill and wrote no letters for xxiv days.)				
	Oct. ix	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Anagni.
1204	Jan. i	.	Mar. vi	.	Anagni.
	Mar. xiii	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1205	Jan. i	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.
1206	Jan. i	.	May xi	.	Rome.
	May xiv	.	Sep. xii	.	Ferentino.
	Sep. xx	.	Dec. xxxi	.	Rome.

¹⁴⁸ This was the occasion of the Pope's flight from insurgent Rome.

	First Letter		Last Letter		From
1207	Jan. i . .		May xxix . .		Rome.
	May xxxi . .		Jul. xxiv . .		Viterbo.
	Jul. xxvii . .		Aug. viii . .		Montefiascone. ¹⁴⁹
	Aug. ix . .		Oct. xii . .		Viterbo.
	Oct. xv . .		Oct. xix . .		Toscanella.
	Oct. xxiii . .		Nov. viii . .		Corneto.
	Nov. xiii . .		Nov. xv . .		Sutri. ¹⁵⁰
	Nov. xvii . .		Dec. xxxi . .		Rome.
1208	Jan. i . .		May xv . .		Rome.
	May xv . .		Jun. xvi . .		Anagni.
	Jun. xvi . .		Jun. xvii . .		Piperno. ¹⁵¹
	Jun. xviii . .		Jun. xix . .		Fossanova. ¹⁵²
	Jun. xix . .		Jun. xx . .		Castro San Lorenzo.
	Jun. xx . .		Jun. xxi . .		Castro di Volsci.
	Jun. xxi . .		Jun. xxii . .		Ceprano. ¹⁵³
	Jun. xxii . .		Jul. xxv . .		San Germano. ¹⁵⁴
	Jul. xxv . .		Jul. xxvi . .		Arce.
	Jul. xxvi . .		Sep. xxii . .		Sora. ¹⁵⁵
	Oct. iv . .		Nov. xviii . .		Ferentino.
	Nov. xxii . .		Dec. xxxi . .		Rome.
1209	Jan. i . .		May xv . .		Rome.
	May xxv . .		Sep. xxv . .		Viterbo.
	Oct. iv . .		Dec. xxxi . .		Rome.
1210	Jan. i . .		Dec. xxxi . .		Rome.

¹⁴⁹ Montefiascone is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. due East of the southermost point of Lago Bolsena.

¹⁵⁰ The Pope went via Roveretello.

¹⁵¹ The Pope went through Alatri and Castrogigliano. This would appear to be His longest day's journey—more than 30 miles over non-existent roads.

¹⁵² Fossanova was then a monastery. It is now a station on the Rome-Terracina Railway.

¹⁵³ Ceprano, a border-town on Liris, which formed the Sicilian frontier.

¹⁵⁴ While at San Germano the Pope visited the great monastery of Monte Cassino.

¹⁵⁵ Sora was the county of His brother Richard, which the Emperor Frederick Stupor Mundi afterwards confiscated and gave to his bastard Frederick of Antioch.

	First Letter		Last Letter		From
1211	Jan. i .	.	Aug. viii .	.	Rome.
	Aug. xx .	.	Sep. iii .	.	Cryptaferrata.
	Sep. xxiv .	.	Dec. xxxi .	.	Rome.
1212	Jan. i .	.	Jun. xv .	.	Rome.
	Jun. xxiii .	.	Sep. xviii .	.	Segni.
	Sep. xxviii .	.	Dec. xxxi .	.	Rome.
1213	Jan. i .	.	Jul. vi .	.	Rome.
	Jul. xi .	.	Oct. xi .	.	Segni.
	Oct. xxii .	.	Dec. xxxi .	.	Rome.
1214	Jan. i .	.	May xxxi .	.	Rome.
	Jun. xxiii .	.	Sep. xix .	.	Viterbo.
	Oct. xxvii .	.	Dec. xxxi .	.	Rome.
1215	Jan. i .	.	Jun. v .	.	Rome.
	Jun. xvi .	.	Jul. xxxi .	.	Ferentino.
	Aug. xxiv .	.	Sep. xx .	.	Anagni.
	Oct. viii .	.	Dec. xxxi .	.	Rome. ¹⁵⁶
1216	Jan. i .	.	Apr. xiii .	.	Rome.
	Apr. xviii .	.	Apr. xx .	.	Viterbo.
			Apr. xxix .	.	Todi.
	May v .	.	May ix .	.	Orvieto.
	May xi .	.	May xiv .	.	Todi.
	May xx .	.	Jul. xv .	.	Perugia. ¹⁵⁷

His method of action was curiously two-sided. At one moment, He would be controlling the destinies of Europe: at the next, composing

¹⁵⁶ The Pope returned to Rome in order to preside over the Lateran Council.

¹⁵⁷ From this it will be observed that the Lord Innocent spent no less than 155 months out of the 222 of His pontificate in Rome, where He divided His time between the Vatican and the Lateran, very much in favour of the latter, which was regarded as the official residence, and seems to have been more readily capable of defence than the Vatican, a comparatively small building chiefly used as the pontifical vestry for great ceremonies in Saint Peter's.

glosses on the penitential psalms, criticizing the authenticity of ancient manuscripts, or inditing hymns to the Blessed Virgin. His facility as a letter-writer was quite extraordinary. It was his habit to keep His correspondents (as it were) in compartments, never letting one matter overlap or interfere with another. Thus, King Philip the August at one time was in peril of bringing interdict upon his kingdom for two several causes. The Lord Innocent could rebuke and praise almost in the same breath, certainly in the same letter; and few men have achieved more in the gentle arts of making friends and enemies by writing letters. His knowledge of the scriptures was quite exhaustive, as may be seen in His sermons: which, for ingenious and secund stringing-together of texts, suggest the fine old-fashioned style of evangelicals of the mid-Victorian era.

A modern missionary bishop of the Midlands has had apparently nowhere else to go for his motto, but to the pagan Flaccus. The Holiness of the Lord Innocent was satisfied with Holy Writ. "*Fac mecum, Domine, signum in bonum:*" was the portion which He chose; and while really trying to order His life and policy to this end, He tempered His actions rather with "*Qui Me iudicat Dominus est;*" and "*Ultra hominem,*" than with glucose reiteration of "*Servus servorum Dei:*" though it cannot be denied that He worked very hard even in this last capacity.

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He died on xvi Jul. 1216,¹⁴⁸ almost His last act being to make arrangements for a Fifth Crusade. So passed out of this life the Most Holy Lord Innocent the Third, in the fifty-sixth year of His age, and the nineteenth of His reign as God's Vicegerent upon earth. And He bore Arms, of His Tuscan House of Conti di Segni, *gules, an argent-headed eagle displayed chequy sable and or, orientally crowned of the last.*

¹⁴⁸ Primo tertianum passus et in brevi curatus . . . decidit in acutam quam cum multis diebus fovisset nec acitris quibus in magna quantitate et ex consuetudine vescebatur utpote illius aegritudinis ignarus nemine abstineret demum paralysis percussus ad ultimum in lethargium prolapsus vitam finivit. Cuius finis quia in multis negotiis rigorem nimium quam maxime accendere videbatur laetitiam potius quam tristitiam generavit subiectis — — —

Albericus. *Chronicon Trium Fontium.*

FELICITER

APPENDIX I

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS AT THE ELECTION OF POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD

According to Ciacconius and Oldoinus, and Cristofori

1. Ottaviano de' Poli, Vicarius in Urbe, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and Velletri.
2. Konrad von Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina.
3. Guillaume de Blois, Archbishop of Rheims, Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina.¹⁵⁹
4. Pietro Gallocia, Cardinal-Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina.
5. Pandolfo Masca da Pisa, Prior of Presbyters, Cardinal-presbyter of the title of Divv. XII Apostoli.
6. Guillaume Blanchemain de Champagne, Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Sabina.¹⁶⁰
7. Adelardo (degli Adelardi da Verona¹⁶¹), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Marcellus.
8. Pietro da Piacenza, Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Cecilia.¹⁶²
9. Ruggero, O.S.B., Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Eusebius.¹⁶³
10. (Ridolfo Nigelli da Pisa¹⁶⁴), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Praxede.
11. Giordano da Ceccano, O.S.B., Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Pudentiana.
12. (Giovanni Toscanella da Viterbo¹⁶⁵), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. Clemens.

¹⁵⁹ Ciac. omits this cardāl: but Cristofori names him.

¹⁶⁰ Ciac. omits this cardāl: but Crist. names him.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Cristofori.

¹⁶² Ib.

¹⁶³ Ib.

¹⁶⁴ Ib.

¹⁶⁵ Ib.

13. (Guido Papareschi, O.S.B.¹⁶⁶), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Maria Transtiberim*.
14. Bernardo (of the Canons Regular¹⁶⁷), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Petrus ad Vincula*.
15. Uguccione Bobone Thieneo¹⁶⁸), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of *Divv. Silvester et Martinus Equityi*.
16. Giovanni da Salerno, Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Stephanus in Monte Caelio*.
17. (Roffredo dell' Isola, O.S.B.¹⁶⁹), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of *Divv. Marcellinus et Petrus*.
18. (Giovanni de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Marcus*.¹⁷⁰
19. Cinzio (Cenci¹⁷¹), Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Laurentius in Lucina*.
20. Giovanni (di Sampaolo Colonna),¹⁷² Cardinal-presbyter of the title of D. *Prisca*.
21. (Gratiano da Pisa),¹⁷³ Archdeacon, Cardinal-deacon of *Divv. Cosmas et Damianus*.
22. (Gherardo Allucignoli),¹⁷⁴ Cardinal-deacon of D. *Hadrianus in Foro*.
23. Gregorio Galgano da Santo Apostolo, Cardinal-deacon of D. *Maria in Porticu Octaviae*.
24. Gregorio (di Crescenzo), Cardinal-deacon of *Divv. Vitalis, Gervasius et Protasius*.¹⁷⁵
25. Gregorio (de' Alberti¹⁷⁶) da Monte Carello, Cardinal-deacon of D. *Georgius in Velum Aureum*.
26. Lothario de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni, Cardinal-deacon of *Divv. Sergius et Bacchus*.¹⁷⁷
27. Niccolo, Cardinal-deacon of D. *Maria in Cosmedin alias Schola Greca*.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Cristofori. ¹⁶⁷ *Ib.* ¹⁶⁸ *Ib.* ¹⁶⁹ *Ib.* ¹⁷⁰ *Ib.*

¹⁷¹ *Ib.* ¹⁷² *Ib.* ¹⁷³ *Ib.* ¹⁷⁴ *Ib.* ¹⁷⁵ *Ib.* ¹⁷⁶ *Ib.*

¹⁷⁷ This is a statement of Ciac. and Oldo. ; and it is the rank usually ascribed to Lothario at the date of his election to the pontificate. But Cristofori says, that, not only was he promoted from the cardinal-diaconate of Saints Sergius and Bacchus to that of Saint George in Velum Aureum, but that he actually had been cardinal-presbyter of the Title of Saint Pudentiana since 1190. This, of course, conflicts with Ciac. and Oldo., who name Giordano da Ceccano (cf. 11 in foregoing category) as beneficiary of this Title in 1198.

28. Gregorio, Cardinal-deacon of D. Angelus *in Foro Piscium*.
29. Bobo, Cardinal-deacon of D. Theodorus.¹⁷⁸
30. (Pietro Capuano da Amalfi),¹⁷⁹ Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Via Lata*.
31. Cencio Savelli, Camerarius S.R.E., Cardinal-deacon of D. Lucia *in Orphea, alias Silice*.¹⁸⁰
32. (Egidio Pierleoni, Cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholaus *in Carcere Tulliano*.)¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Cristofori says that Ugo de' Geremei was Cardinal-deacon of St. Theodore at this date. He also records that a "Bobone" Orsini, or a "Bosone" d' Arles, was Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of St. Anastasia in the year of Pope Innocent's election. It is not easy to reconcile the authorities.

¹⁷⁹ Cristofori.

¹⁸⁰ This cardinal subsequently became Pope under the name of Honorius the Third.

¹⁸¹ Cristofori.

APPENDIX II

THE CREATURES OF POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD

According to Ciacconius and Oldoinus, and Cristofori

FIRST CREATION, *Dec. 1198*

1. Ugolino de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni, (Pontifical Nephew,) Cardinal-deacon of D. Eustachius.¹⁶²
2. Gerard, (9th Abbot of the Cistercians of Pontigny), Cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholaus in *Carcere Tulliano*.

SECOND CREATION, *Pentecost, 1199*

(Promotions only)

THIRD CREATION, *Dec. 1200*

1. Benedetto, (?) . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Susanna.
2. Leone Brancaleone, (Canon Regular,) Cardinal-deacon of D. Lucia in *VII Solis*.
3. Matteo, (?) . . . Cardinal-deacon of D. Theodorus.¹⁶³
4. Giovanni de' Conti d' Anagni, . . . Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria in *Cosmedin alias Schola Greca*.

¹⁶² This cardinal subsequently became Pope under the name of Gregory the Ninth.

¹⁶³ Cristofori knows nothing of this Matteo: but distinctly says that Giovanni Malabranca occupied the cardinal-diaconate of Saint Theodore till 1206, when he was succeeded by Gregorio de' Crescenzi, a Canon Regular: but cf. the Fifth Creation.

FOURTH CREATION, *Mar. 1205*

1. Niccolo (da Chiaramonte, O.S.B. Cist.¹⁸⁴) . . . Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.¹⁸⁵
2. Rogerio, (?) . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Anastasia.
3. Wido Pierleoni, . . . Cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholaus *in Carcere Tulliano*.
4. Johannes, formerly Subdeacon of S.R.E., Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Via Lata*.
5. Pietro da Mora, Subdeacon S.R.E., Cardinal-deacon of D. Angelus *in Foro Piscium*.
6. (Giacomo Guala de Beccaria, a Canon Regular,¹⁸⁶) Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Porticu Octaviae*.
7. Pietro de' Conti di Campagna, Abb. Cass. O.S.B. . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Laurentius *in Damaso*.

FIFTH CREATION, *Dec. 1206*

1. Ottaviano de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni, Pontifical Nephew, Cardinal-deacon of Divv. Sergius et Bacchus.
2. Gregorio de' Crescenzi, a Canon Regular, Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Aquiro*.¹⁸⁷
3. Giovanni, a priest of the pontifical chapel, Cardinal-deacon of Divv. Cosmas et Damianus.
4. Pelagio de' Galvani, O.S.B., Cardinal-deacon of D. Lucia *in VII Soliis*.
5. Siegfried von Eppstein, Archbishop of Maintz, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Sabina.¹⁸⁸
6. Ildebrando Cajetani, Cardinal-deacon of D. Eustachius.

SIXTH CREATION, *Dec. 1207*

1. Pietro Sasso d' Anagni, . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Pudentiana *Pastoris*.

¹⁸⁴ Cristofori.¹⁸⁵ i.e. Frascati.¹⁸⁶ Cristofori.¹⁸⁷ Thus Ciac. and Oldo., but Cristofori assigns him the Cardinal-diaconate of Saint Theodore.¹⁸⁸ Cristofori places this creation in 1211.

2. (Uberto da Terzago, . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Stephanus *in Monte Caelio*.¹⁹⁰)
3. Angelo, (?), . . . Cardinal-deacon of D. Hadrianus *in Foro*.
4. Mauro, (?), bishop of Ameria in Umbria, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of (?).

SEVENTH CREATION, 1211

1. Johannes,¹⁹¹ (?) . . . Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Praxede.
2. (Benedetto, (?), . . . Cardinal-bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina.)
3. Gregorio, (?), . . . Cardinal-bishop of Sabina.
4. Gherardo da Sessa, Cist., Cardinal-bishop of Albano.¹⁹²
5. Goffredo, (or Siffredo), (?), Legate to the Holy Land, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Praxede.
6. Gaultier (?), Legate against Gallic nonconformists, Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Portico Octaviae*.

EIGHTH CREATION, Dec. 1212

1. Stefano da Ceccano, O.S.B., Cardinal-deacon of D. Angelus *in Foro Piscium*.
2. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Chrysogonus.
3. Gregorio Theodoli, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Anastasia.
4. Pierre de Douai, Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Aquiro*.
5. Raniero Capocci, a Cistercian, Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Cosmedin, alias Schola Greca*.
6. Bonaventura (Papareschi¹⁹³), Cardinal-deacon of D. Angelus *in Foro Piscium*.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Cristofori.

¹⁹¹ Cristofori calls this cardinal-presbyter Enrico Sifredo Cajetani da Pisa.

¹⁹² Cristofori supplies the date of this creation.

¹⁹³ Cristofori.

¹⁹⁴ This is the second cardinal-deacon created for this cardinal-diaconate at this creation, apparently. Cf. Seventh Creation, Nos. 1 and 5.

7. Tommaso (del Vescovo da Capua¹⁹⁴), Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Sabina.
8. Bertramo, (?) Cardinal-deacon of D. Georgius *in Vetus Aureum*.
9. Stefano de' Conti, Pontifical Nephew: Canon of Bayeux,¹⁹⁵ Cardinal-deacon of D. Hadrianus *in Foro*.
10. Robert Curson, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Stephanus *in Monte Caelio*.
11. Raniero da Orvieto, a Canon Regular, Cardinal-deacon of D. Lucia *in Silice alias Orphea*.
12. Giandomenico (Trinci¹⁹⁶), Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Cyriacus *in Thermis*.

¹⁹⁴ Cristofori.

¹⁹⁵ *Ib.* (de Normandis).

¹⁹⁶ *Ib.*

APPENDIX III

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS AT THE DEATH OF POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD

According to Ciacconius and Oldoinus, and Cristofori

1. Niccolo (da Chiaromonte, O.S.B. Cist.¹⁹⁷), Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.¹⁹⁸
2. Guido Papareschi, Cardinal-bishop of Praeneste.¹⁹⁹
3. Ugolino de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri.
4. Benedetto, (?) Cardinal-bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina.
5. Pelagio de' Galvani, O.S.B., Cardinal-bishop of Albano.²⁰⁰
6. Cinzio Cenci, Prior of Presbyters, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Laurentius *in Lucina*.
7. Cencio Savelli, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of Divv. Johannes et Paulus *Pammachij*.
8. Leone (Brancaleone²⁰¹), Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Croce *in Hierusalem*.
9. Pietro Sassa d' Anagni, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Pudentiana.
10. Giacomo Guala de Beccaria, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of Divv. Silvester et Martinus *Equitij*.
11. Giovanni, (?) Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Praxede.
12. Robert Curson, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Stephanus *in Monte Caelio*.

¹⁹⁷ Cristofori.

¹⁹⁸ i.e. Frascati.

¹⁹⁹ i.e. Palestrina.

²⁰⁰ But Cristofori asserts that Gherardo da Sessa, O.S.B. Cist., occupied the suburban see of Albano from 1211 to 1220, and that Pelagio de' Galvani of the same Religion (having ascended from the cardinal-diaconate of Saint Lucy *in VII Soliis* to the cardinal-presbyterate of the Title of Saint Cecilia) succeeded Gherardo in the Alba Longa Chair in 1221.

²⁰¹ Cristofori.

13. Stefano da Ceccano, O.S.B., Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of Divv. XII Apostoli.
14. Stephen Langton, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Chrysogonus.
15. Gregorio Theodoli, Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Anastasia.
16. Pietro de' Conti di Campagna, Abb. Cass. O.S.B., Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of D. Laurentius *in Damaso*.
17. Tommaso (del Vescovo da Capua²⁰³), Cardinal-presbyter of the Title of S. Sabina.
18. Guido da Bisenzo, Archdeacon, Cardinal-deacon of D. Nicholaus *in Carcere Tulliano*.²⁰³
19. Ottaviano de' Conti di Segni e d' Anagni, Cardinal-deacon of Divv. Sergius et Bacchus.
20. Johannes, (?) ex-subdeacon S.R.E., Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Via Lata*.²⁰⁴
21. Gregorio de Crescenzi, Cardinal-deacon of D. Theodorus.
22. Giovanni, (?) Cardinal-deacon of Divv. Cosmas et Damianus.
23. Raniero Capocci, Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Cosmedin*, alias *Schola Greca*.
24. (Bonaventura Papareschi²⁰⁵), Cardinal-deacon of D. Angelus *in Foro Piscium*.
25. Pierre (de Douai²⁰⁶), Cardinal-deacon of D. Maria *in Aquiro*.
26. Bertramo, (?) Cardinal-deacon of D. Georgius *in Velum Aureum*.
27. Stefano de' Conti, Cardinal-deacon of D. Hadrianus *in Foro*.

²⁰³ Cristofori.

²⁰⁴ But Cristofori queries Guido da Bisenzo's creation in 1205; and records Egidio Pierleoni as beneficiary of this cardinal-diaconate certainly from 1205 to 1221.

²⁰⁵ Cristofori states that he vacated (by death?) this cardinal-diaconate, in 1210, which remained vacant till the creation of Ottavio Ubaldini in 1244.

²⁰⁶ A fine example of the instability of the Dominican Ciacconius, and his Jesuit recensor. They record the creation of "Romanus Bonaventura Romanus," for this cardinal-diaconate in Innocent the Third's eighth consistory; and then, they apparently forget all about him, excepting his nationality: for, among the "Cardinales xxvij vivi quando Honorius Papa III creatus est," they simply say that the cardinal-diaconate of the Holy Angel in the Fishmarket was served by a Roman—"Romanus Diac. Card. S. Angeli *in Foro Piscium*."

²⁰⁶ Cristofori.

APPENDIX III

SERMON OF INNOCENT THE THIRD, PREACHED AT HIS OWN CONSECRATION

“He is a faithful and prudent servant whom the Lord hath set over His house, so that it may be fed with food convenient.”

THE Eternal Word points out to us the qualities of him who is set over the house, and in what way he should care for her. He will be faithful and prudent so that he may feed her with food convenient at ordered times—*faithful*, that he may present it—*prudent*, that it may be done at the proper time. The Word also notifies Him who has instituted,—The Lord: and him who has been instituted,—the servant. What servant has been instituted?—a faithful and prudent one:—over what has he been set?—over the house:—why has he been instituted?—so that he may nourish it:—when?—at the appointed time.

Let us examine each of these sayings, for they are the words of The Eternal Word. That is why each word has its value, each bears a profound meaning.

Every one cannot be the master, but only He upon Whose Vestment and Loins are writ, “King of Kings, and Lord of Lords,” He of whom it is said, “His Name is Lord.” He has, by the self-same plenitude of His Power, constituted the pre-eminence of the Holy See, in order that none may be so bold as to resist His established Mandate, even as He Himself has said, “Thou art Peter; and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell

shall not prevail against it." For, as He has laid the foundation of the Church, and is Himself its Foundation Stone, the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. But this foundation is immovable, even as says the Apostle: none can lay other Foundation than that which is laid, and which is Jesus Christ. Let then Peter's boat, in which sleeps the Lord, be beaten by furious waves; and she will never perish: for Jesus rules the sea and the tempest, peace will be restored, and men (astonished) cry "Who is This, Whom even the sea and the winds obey?" The Church is that grand and solid edifice of whom the Eternal Word has said, "And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock;" namely on that rock of which the apostle said, "Jesus Christ is the Rock." It is manifest that the Holy See, far from being enfeebled by adversity, consoles itself by the Divine Promise, saying in the words of the prophet, "Through affliction hast Thou led me into a far country." It abandons itself with confidence to the promise which The Lord made to His apostles—"I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

Yes, God is with us. Who then can be against us? As this institution comes not from man, but from God,—even more, from the God-Man,—the heretic and the dissenter, the malevolent wolf, seek in vain to ravage the vineyard, to rend the robe, to overthrow the candlestick, to extinguish the light: for thus hath Gamaliel said, "If this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God."

"In The Lord is my trust, I will not fear what man can do unto me." I am that servant whom God hath set in charge of His house, may He grant me fidelity and prudence, so that I may feed her at the desired time.

Yes, a servant, and the servant of servants. May it please God that I am not one of those of whom Scripture says, "Whosoever committeth sin, the same is the servant of sin,"—not one of those to whom it is said, "O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt," and in another place, "that servant that knew his lord's will, and did not do it, shall be beaten with many stripes." But may I be one of them of whom The Lord says, "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded, say, 'We are unprofitable servants.'" I am a servant, and not a master. As The Lord said to His apostles, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so. He that is greatest among you let him be as the servant of all; and he that is chief, let him be your minister." That is why I desire to serve and do not assume dominion: thus following the example of my most illustrious predecessor who has said, "Not as those who desire to reign over the clergy, but as models for the flock, through the Spirit."

What an honour! I am put in charge of the house. But, what a heavy burden! I am the servant of servants, the debtor of wise men, and of fools. If there are those who can scarcely serve *one* properly, how can a single one serve all? "Besides these things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches."

What anxiety, and what sorrow, what uneasiness, and what hindrances, have I not to bear! Have I not undertaken more than I can carry out? Yet I will not exaggerate my undertaking, in order that I may not find myself wanting in the elevation at which I began. One day will reveal to another the trouble that I endure, one night will announce to another my cares. My firmness is not that of a rock, my flesh is not brass. But if

I am feeble and full of defects, God who gives generously to all and without delay, will give me strength. That is why, since man is not master of the path he follows, I trust that He who supported Peter on the waves of the sea so that he might not sink, that He Who makes smooth what is uneven, and softens that which is rough, will direct my steps. I have made known to you the circumstances, now hear the duties.

I am a servant : I must be prudent and faithful, so that I may present to servants food at the time required. God requires three things of me : a faithful heart, prudence in action, the Food of The Word : for, with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Abraham believed God ; and "it was counted unto him for righteousness."

Without faith, it is impossible to please God, for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. If I myself have no faith how can I strengthen others in faith ? And that is one of the chief points of my function : for did not The Lord say to Saint Peter, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," and "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." He prayed, and was hearkened to,—hearkened to in all points, owing to His obedience. The faith of the Holy See has never failed in trouble : but it remains firm and invincible, so that the privilege of Saint Peter remains inviolable. Yet, precisely for this reason, I have need of faith : because, though for all other faults I can be freed before the tribunal of God,—for faults against the Faith I may be judged by the Church.

I have faith, perpetual faith : because the Church is apostolic ; and I am well convinced that my faith will save me, according to the promise of Him Who has said, "Thy faith hath saved thee : go, sin no more." Faith without works, is dead : if faith lives, it works through

charity. "The just shall live by faith." It is not those who hear The Word, but they who are doers of The Word who are victorious before God. "For if any be a hearer of The Word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass." But neither faith without prudence, nor prudence without faith, avail aught.

I must be faithful and prudent. It is written, "Be ye wise as serpents." Oh, how I stand in need of prudence, so that I may grasp at the observance of my duties, so that my left hand may not know the doing of my right, so that I may separate the clean from the unclean, good from evil, light from darkness, salvation from perdition, so that I may not call bad that which is good and good that which is bad, so that I may not declare that darkness which is light, and that light which is darkness, so that I may not condemn to death those souls which should live, and that I judge not those worthy to live who deserve death. It is then with good reason that the square and double breastplate was counted among the principal ornaments of the high-priest. The judgment of the Pope (of whom the type lay in the dignity and the name of the high-priest) ought to distinguish four things ;—the true from the false, the good from the evil : the one, so that he may not err in faith : the other, so that he may not deceive himself in action. He ought to distinguish two motives, for himself, and for the people : so that if the blind should lead the blind, both should not fall into the ditch. The breastplate was square, on account of the fourfold meaning which ought to manifest itself to the Pope through Scripture, the historic meaning, the allegorical meaning, the figurative meaning, and the mystic meaning. The breastplate was double because of the two testaments which the Pope cannot ignore, because the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive : foursquare, because of the New Testament, which

is contained in the four Gospels : double, because of the Old Testament which is engraved upon two tables.

How great should be the prudence which must be responsible for the wisdom of all, which has to decide in all complicated cases, remove all secret doubts, negotiate all business, decree all decrees, explain Scripture, preach to the people, punish disturbers, strengthen the weak, refute heretics, and defend Catholic Christians ! Who is capable of all this ? May such an one receive our praises ! It is on that account The Lord has said earnestly, "Who then is that wise and faithful servant ? I will make him ruler over my household."

I am put in charge of the house ! Pray God that my merit may correspond with my eminence, and that it will turn to the honour of The Mighty Lord : for, when He carries out His Will by means of a feeble servant, all is attributed not to human power, but to Divine Force. Who am I, and what is the house of my father, that I should be put in charge of kings, and occupy the seat of honour ? For it is I who am spoken of by the prophet, "I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." It is I of whom it is written, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven," and to me also—that which the Lord said to all the disciples in common), "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." But speaking to Peter only, He said, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Thus it is that Peter can loose others, but he himself can be loosed by none. "Thou art called Kephas," saith He, which signifies Head. In the head is found the centre of man's senses, they are

divided in every other member. All the rest are called to take their share in the welfare of the body: but Peter alone has been raised to the plenitude of power.

You recognize now who is the servant put in charge of the house. It is none other than the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter. He is the intermediary between God and man: beneath God, above man: less than God, more than man: he judges all, and is judged by none, as the apostle says, "God is my judge," but he who is elevated to the highest consideration is lowered in his function of serving: so that humility should be raised and greatness humiliated, and he who is exalted shall be obeyed. All the valleys shall be raised, and the mountains and hills be brought low. And it is said yet again, "They have called thee prince,—be not proud, but as one among them." It is "the candle on a candle-stick, which giveth light to all that are in the house." When the light groweth dim, how deep becomes the darkness! It is "the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is therefore good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." That is why much is required from him to whom much is given. He has to give account to God, not only for himself, but for those under his care. For the Lord makes no distinction among His servants. He does not say in the plural "the servants," but in the singular "the servant," because there should be but "one flock, and one shepherd." "My Well Beloved," He says, "is one, she whom they have chosen is one." The garment of The Lord was without seam and shall remain seamless. All were admitted into one Ark. They were saved from the waters by a single Pilot: but those who remained outside the Ark were drowned in the Flood.

He is put in charge of the house, so that he presents her with food at the time required. Our Lord Jesus

Christ established the primacy of Peter before, during, and after, His Passion. Before His Passion,—in saying, “Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church,” and, “whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.” During His Passion,—in saying, “Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee that he may sift thee as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not . . . when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.” After His Passion—when commanding him for the third time, “Feed My sheep.”

The first time He pointed out the greatness of the dignity: the second, the need of firmness in faith: the third, the functions of a pastor. Under all these bearings my text from Scripture evidently applies to Saint Peter:—firmness in the faith when He says,—“Be faithful and prudent” :—elevation to dignity when He says, “He hath set thee over the house” :—the care of the sheep, when He says that he shall feed them.

He ought to feed them: to wit, by The Word, and the Sacrament. It is as though The Lord should say—“Feed them by the example of life, by the word of doctrine, by the sacrament of the altar”—by the example of action, by the word of preaching, by the sacrament of communion. The Eternal Truth says the first point, “My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me”: it is said on the second in Holy Writ, “He nourishes him with the bread of life and understanding, and gives him the water of healing wisdom to drink”: and, in the third place, The Lord says, “For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed.”

I will give the house the food of example: in order that my light shall shine before men, so that they shall see my good works, and worship my Father which is in heaven. For neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it

giveth light to all that are in the house: wherefore The Lord says elsewhere, "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;" and "let him that heareth say 'Come.'"

When the anointed priest sins, he causes the people to sin: for every spiritual fault is rebuked more severely, and that in proportion to the elevation of him who commits it. I ought also to give the food of the Word: so that I should increase the talent which has been given me, by putting it out to usury. For, according to the apostle, God has not sent to baptize but to preach, so that the dogs may eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table: for "man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." So that the text, "the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it unto them," shall not find its application in me, but rather by me. I ought to give the servants the food of the Blessed Sacrament, so that by It they should receive life and not see death, as saith The Lord, "I am that Bread of Life which cometh down from Heaven: if any man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever"; and, "the Bread which I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the Light of the World. Except ye eat The Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you."

I ought to give you this triple food,—at a time convenient. According to Solomon, there is time for all things. I ought to give you the food of example, followed by that of The Word: in order that you may worthily receive the food of the Sacrament. For Jesus Christ has acted and taught, "leaving us an example that we should follow His Steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His Mouth."

He who does and teaches this, shall be called great in the kingdom of Heaven. For if I teach without

acting, it may reasonably be said, "Physician, heal thyself," and, "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye." Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?—that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? For unto the ungodly said God, "Why dost thou preach My laws, and take My covenant in thy mouth." He is justly despised whose life is a stumbling-block. The apostle says, "I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." I will rejoice with them that do rejoice and weep with them that weep, so that my pastoral conduct shall correspond with its aim. I will speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but in the midst of you all, I will know nothing but Jesus Crucified. Being babes in Christ Jesus, I will feed you with milk and not with meat, for strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age. "But let a man examine himself, and, so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body."

It is thus, dear brothers and sons, that I present you with the food and the Divine Word from the table of Holy Writ. I expect from you to do your part. I hope that you will lift up hands, cleansed from disunion and enmity, to The Lord,—that you will invoke Him with the prayer of faith, so that He may grant me grace worthily to fulfil the functions of an apostolic servant,—functions laid upon my feeble shoulders,—for the honour of His Name,—for the salvation of my soul,—for the prosperity of the Universal Church,—for the welfare of Christianity.

May Our Lord Jesus Christ, God of all, be praised, world without end.

APPENDIX V

SPECIMEN WRITINGS OF CARDINAL LOTHARIO DE' CONTI, AFTERWARDS POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD

[From the "Ottobonian Manuscript," No. 433. "De contemptu
Mundi," as the work is usually called, or "De Viciis et
Virtutibus," as it calls itself,—the following are taken.]

LIBER I. CAP. IX. (viii)

"O VILIS conditionis humanae indignitas O indigna
vilitatis humanae conditio herbas et arbores in vestigia.
Illae de se producunt flores et frondes et fructus, et heu
de te et pediculos et lumbricos. Illae de se fundunt oleum
vinum balsamum et tu de te sputum urinam et stercus.
Illae de se spirant suavitatem odoris et tu de te reddis
abominationem fetoris. Qualis est ergo arbor talis est
fructus, 'Non enim potest arbor mala fructus bonos
facere.' Quid est enim homo secundum formam nisi
quaedam arbor inversa? Cuius radices sunt crines
truncus caput cum collo stipes est pectus cum albo rami
sunt ilia cum tibiis frondes sunt digitii cum articulis.
Hoc est folium quod a ventu rapitur et stipula quae a
sole siccatur."

IN LIBER II

The writer inveighs against drunkenness and every form
of lust, minutely describing the worst examples, he con-
tinues against pride of birth, of wealth, of ambition, and
dress. . . . "Superbus autem ut magnificus videatur

satagit vestiri duplicitibus indui mollibus pretiosis ornari sed quid est homo pretiosis ornatus nisi 'sepulcrum foris dealbatum intus autem plenum spurcilia?' Hyacinthus et purpura coccus et byssus in limo putrescunt, aurum et argentum lapides et gemmae in bili sordescunt.²⁰⁷ Dignitas et potestas male iacent in pulvere, honor et gloria male sedent in cinere. Quid ergo superbe phylacterias dilatas et magnificas fimbrias? Dives ille qui induebatur purpura et byssu sepultus est in inferno. Holofernes qui sedebat in canopeo quod erat ex purpura et byssu et auro et smaragdo et lapidibus pretiosis intextum iugulatus est a Iudith."

IN LIBER III

The future Pope writes somewhat bitterly of the origin and condition of human existence—"Quam turpis pater, quam vilis mater, quam abominabilis soror! Conceptus est enim homo de sanguine per ardorem libidinis putrefacto, cuius tandem libidinis cadaveri quasi funebres vermes assistent, vivus generavit pediculos et lumbricos, mortuus generabit vermes et muscas, vivus produxit stercus et vomitum, mortuus producit putrefactum et fetorem, vivus hominem unicum impinguavit, mortuus vermes plurimos impinguabit. Quid ergo foetidius humano cadavere, quid horribilius homine mortuo? Cui gratissimus erat amplexus in vita, molestus etiam erit aspectus in morte. Quid ergo prosunt divitiae, quid epulæ, quid deliciae quid honores? Divitiae non liberabunt a morte, epulæ non defendant a morte nec deliciae a verme honores non eripient a fetore. Qui modo sedebat gloriosus in throno modo iacet despectus in

²⁰⁷ No doubt the young cardinal thought this garish jingle extremely fine. It is to be regretted that he had not the example to follow of Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, who (as Pope Pius the Second) did His best to suppress a horribly young novel of His adolescence.

tumulo, qui modo fulgebat ornatus in aula, modo sordet nudus in tumba, qui modo vescebatur deliciis in caenacula modo consumitur a vermibus in sepulcro."

In DE SACRO ALTARIS MYSTERIO, Lib. I, cap. viii, which is called "*De primatu Romani Pontificis*," are set forth the author's views on the subject of the Pontificate and its Powers.

"Omnibus autem apostolis Christus Unum praeposuit videlicet Petrum Cui totius Ecclesiae Principatum et ante Passionem et circa Passionem et post Passionem commisit. Ante Passionem cum dixit 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam Meam et portae inferi non prevalebunt adversus Eam; et Tibi Dabo claves regni caelorum.' Licit enim universis apostolis communiter dixerit 'Quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis retenta sunt,' principaliter Petro concessit 'Quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in caelis, et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum et in caelis.' Petrus potest ligare caeteros sed ligari non potest a caeteris. Nam et illis particulariter dictum est quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis. Huic autem universaliter dicitur 'Quodcumque ligaveris etc.' Circa Passionem vero cum pluralitur dixisset de omnibus 'Simon ecce Satanas expetivit Vos ut cribraret sicut triticum' singulariter tamen pro Petro subiunxit 'Ego autem pro Te rogavi ut non deficiat fides Tua' statimque subiunxit 'Et Tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres Tuos.' Ad Petrum igitur tanquam ad magistrum pertinet caeteros confirmare Cuius fides in nulla tentatione defecit. Fides enim Apostolicae Sedis super firmam petram stabili soliditate fundata nullis unquam errorum sordibus potuit inquinari, sed absque ruga manens et macula pro necessitate temporum a caeteris maculis

detersit errorum. Post Passionem autem cum tertio quaesiisset a Petro 'Simon Ioannis diligis Me plus his?' et Ille tertio respondisset 'Domine Tu scis quia amo Te' tertioque praecepit 'Pasce oves Meas' statimque subiunxit 'seque te Me.' Petrus enim secutus est Christum non solum genere martyrii sed et in ordine magisterii. Quod Christus ostendit cum ait 'Tu vocaberis Cephas,' licet enim Cephas secundum unam linguam interpretetur Petrus secundum alteram tamen exponitur Caput. Nam sicut Caput habet plenitudinem sensum caetera vera membra partem recipiunt plenitudinis its caeteri sacerdotes vocati sunt in partem sollicitudinis sed Summus Pontifex est in plenitudinem potestatis. Hinc etiam quod non sine magni mysterii sacramento cum Christus universos interrogasset apostulos 'Vos autem quem Me esse dicitis' solus Petrus quasi primus et potior respondit pro omnibus 'Tu es Christus Filius Dei Vivi.' Cumque timore periculi simul exterrerentur apostoli solus Petrus descendit intrepidus ut super undas maris ad Dominum ambularet et cum multi discipulorum abiissent retro dicentes 'Durus est hic sermo,' dixit Iesus ad duodecim 'Nunquid et vos vultis abire?' Respondit Ei Simon Petrus 'Domine ad quem ibimus? verba vitae aeternae Habes et nos credimus et cognovimus quia Tu es Christus Filius Dei.' Cumque Iesus respexisset discipulos ait Simoni Petri 'Si in Te peccavit frater Tuus, vade et corripe eum inter Te et ipsum solum . . . etc.' Cui cum Petrus dixisset 'Domine, quoties peccabit in Me frater Meus et dimittam ei? usque septies?' Respondit Illi Iesus 'Non dico Tibi usque septies sed usque septuagies septies.' Et cum omnes apostoli fugam arriperent solus Petrus educens gladium percussit servum pontificis et dextram eius abscidit auriculam. Cumque post resurrectionem alii discipuli navigio venissent de Dominum Petros succingens se misit in mare ut inter

undas ad Ipsum accederet. Quapropter et Christus cum resurrexisset a mortuis prius Se Petro quam caeteris ostendit apostolis quia secundum apostolum 'visus est Cephae post hoc undecim deinde visus est plusquam quingentis fratribus simul.'"

APPENDIX VI

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LORD INNOCENT

1198-1216

THE following selection does not pretend to be anything more than a very brief epitome of the voluminous correspondence of the Lord Innocent. At most it hopes to illustrate the immense variety of His correspondents, the multiplicity of His cares, and the meticulous and unwearying attention which He accorded to all matters great and small alike which came into His pontifical purview, as well as some small indication of the habitual tenor of His epistles.

The references are either to Potthast's *Regesta*, in which ample sources are detailed, or to Migne's edition of the Pope's Letters published in the *Patrologia Latina*. The former are indicated by a P followed by the number of the letter in order of date as given in the *Regesta*; the latter by the number of the volume and the page.

LETTERS TO KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1198 May 7.	Saint Thomas of Canterbury	I 531
May 29.	Sends four rings as a mark of friendship .	I 179
May 31.	Question of ransom money	I 196
Nov. 20.	Assurances of friendship	I 415
Dec. 17.	Let Pierre de Corbeil have his prebend at York	I 443
1199 Apr. 28.	Treasury of Canterbury	I 595
Dec. 22.	Take Archbishop Geoffrey of York into favour	I 451

APPENDIX VI

LETTERS TO KING JOHN OF ENGLAND

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1200 Apr.	Queen Eleanor's dowry	P 998
Dec.	Richard's Will	P 1235
1201 Feb. 3.	Case of Honorius Archdeacon of Richmond	P 1263
Mar. 1.	The Empire	III 1050
Nov.	Richard's Will	P 1519
Dec.	Do not starve two abbots	P 1548
Dec. 28.	Richard's Will	III 1062
Dec.	It is not becoming to a King to steal abbey lands. Give them back	P 1577
1202 Mar. 27.	As a mark of contrition for your bad behaviour in repudiating Havise send 100 men to the Holy Land and build a monastery for Cistercians	I 972
Mar. 28.	Richard's Will	III 1075
Jun.	Cease from persecuting the Bishop of Limoges and compensate him for your violence	I 1036
Jun.	Honorius of Richmond	I 645
1203 Feb. 20.	Do not interfere with the liberty of the Church	I 1175
May 15.	Preferment of a foreigner to Carlisle	III 1110
May 21.	Behave less shamefully to the Archbishop of Dublin or suffer Interdict	II 61
Oct. 31.	As Duke of Normandy you ought to appear before your suzerain King Philip	II 182
1204 Jan. 4.	Richard's Will and Berengère's dowry	II 220
Dec. 13.	Archbishop of Dublin and Berengère's dowry	II 484
1205 Sep. 22.	Richard's Will and the Empire	III 1128
Sep. 23.	Richard's Will	III 1129
Dec. 23.	Injustice to an abbess	II 747
1206 Feb. 17.	Richard's Will and The Empire	III 1129
Mar. 30.	Canterbury	P 2723
Dec. 20.	Canterbury	I 1044
1207 May 26.	Canterbury	II 327
Sep. 3.	Berengère's dowry	II 1218
1208 Mar. 22.	INTERDICT ON ENGLAND	
May 27.	Canterbury	I 1406
Aug.	Richard's Will	III 1150
1209 Jan. 12.	Canterbury	III 1188
Jan. 21.	Berengère's dowry	II 1537
Jan. 23.	Berengère's dowry	II 1535

APPENDIX VI

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DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1211 Oct. 19.	Go on crusade	III 213
1212 Feb. 28.	Canterbury and Pandolfo	III 774
Mar. 1.	Threat of excommunication	III 772
1213 Jul. 6.	Surrender of the Kingdom	III 881
Nov. 4.	<i>Sicut in Arca</i>	III 922
1214 Apr. 15.	Takes King and his heirs under protection	III 226
Apr. 22.	Make peace with France and go on crusade	III 227
1215 Aug. 24.	Magna Carta	P 4990

LETTERS TO KING PHILIP THE AUGUST

1198 Jan. 9.	<i>"tanquam speciali ecclesie Romane filio"</i>	I 2
May 17.	Ingebiorg	I 148
Aug. 31	Make peace with Richard under pain of interdict	I 329
Aug. 31.	Take back Ingebiorg under pain of inter- dict.	I 321
Sep.	INTERDICT ON FRANCE	
1199 Apr. 27.	Do not interfere with the marriage of Count Philip of Flanders	I 585
May 31.	Ecclesiastical arrangements	I 635
Dec.	Go on Crusade	I 809
1200 Jun.	Interdict	P 1074
Jul.	Ingebiorg	P 1096
Oct. 22.	Ingebiorg	I 896
Dec.	Divorce of Agnes de Meran	P 1220
Dec.	Divorce	P 1236
1201 Feb.	Ingebiorg	P 1288
Mar. 1.	The Empire	III 1048
Jun. 9.	Make peace with Otto	III 1051
Nov. 2.	Legitimation of King Philip's children by Agnes de Meran	P 1500
Dec.	Ingebiorg	P 1575
1202 Mar. 26.	Make peace with Otto	III 1068
Jun. 5.	Divorce	I 1015
1203 May 26.	Make peace with John	II 64
Jun. 30.	Ingebiorg	II 88
Oct. 9.	Stop the quarrel between the Count and the Bishop of Auxerre	II 162
Oct. 31.	Make peace with John	II 176
Dec. 9.	Ingebiorg	II 198
1204 May 28.	Heresy	II 361
May 30.	Advowsons of the Countess of Vermandois	P 2227

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1205 Jan. 16.	Jews and Heretics	II 501
Feb. 7.	Heresy	II 526
1206 Feb.	7. Take measures about heretics	P 2682
1207 Apr. 2.	Ingebiorg	II 1135
Nov. 17.	War against the Albigenses is equally virtuous with a crusade	II 1246
Dec.	Ingebiorg	II 1266
1208 Feb.	Heresy	II 1358
Sep. 17.	The Empire	III 1153
Oct. 9.	Heresy	I 1470
Dec. 7.	Ingebiorg	II 1493
Dec. 9.	Ingebiorg and divorce	II 1494
1209 Feb. 3.	Heresy	II 1545
Apr. 23.	Help King Jean of Jerusalem	III 36
1210 Aug. 18.	Ecclesiastical affairs	P 4063
1211 Feb. 1.	The Empire	P 4178
Aug. 25.	Confiscation of the lands of Raymond Count of Toulouse	III 524
Dec. 2.	Taxing offertories	III 487
1212 May 5.	Ecclesiastical affairs	III 571
Jun. 9.	Ingebiorg	III 617
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to Lateran Council	P 4706
Jul. 5.	Make peace with John	III 884
1214 Apr. 22.	Make peace with John and crusade	III 227
May 14.	Do not meddle with ecclesiastical jurisdic- tions	III 229
May 29.	Praise for good behaviour	P 4930
1215 Aug.	Do not help John's Barons against him	III 991
1216 May	Imperial affairs	P 5117

LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR OTTO

1201 Mar. 1.	Recognition as Elect-Emperor	III 1034
1202 Jan.	Write frequent letters to your adherents	III 1059
Mar.	Be energetic and We will help you	III 1072
1203 Jan. 13.	Congratulations on progress	III 1088
Sep. 9.	Imperial affairs	III 1096
Dec. 16.	Imperial affairs	III 1107
1204 Jan. 25.	Take care of Church property even though you are engaged in a civil war	III 1109
1206 Feb. 17.	Assurance of Pontifical favour and advice	III 1130
Jun.	Communicate with Patriarch of Aquilaeia about the truce ordered by Us	III 1136
1207 Dec.	Much advice	III 1145

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1208 May	Assurance of friendship	III 1145
Aug.	Marriage with Beatrix	III 1147
Aug. 20.	Death of Philip of Swabia	III 1153
Dec. 4.	Imperial affairs	III 1157
1209 Jan. 5.	About coronation	III 1160
Jan. 16.	<i>"Cum vera pax et firma concordia inter ecclesiam et imperium nunc existat"</i>	III 1161
Mar. 10.	Frederick of Sicily	III 1168
Jul. 2.	Bishop Valdimar	III 69
Jul. 11.	Fine exacted from Florence	III 82
Oct. 4.	OTTO CROWNED EMPEROR	
Oct. 11.	Question of Matildan Donation	III 1173
Nov. 11.	Measures against heretics	III 153
Nov. 13.	Bishopric of Bamberg	III 149
1210 Nov. 1.	<i>Quamvis de regnum</i> ²⁰⁸	
1211 Mar. 31.	OTTO EXCOMMUNICATED (Maunday Thursday) ²⁰⁹	

LETTERS TO KING FREDERICK OF SICILY

1199 Jan.	Consolation for the death of his father	I 520
1200 Dec.	Honour the Church	P 1234
1201 Jul.	3. Bishop of Troia and Markwald	P 1421
1204 Oct. 4.	Take advice from Our Legate for the good of your kingdom	II 419
1206 Sep. 12.	Congratulations on progress	II 984
1207 Jan. 29.	Congratulations on regaining liberty	II 1081
1209 Jan. 9.	Do strive for independent spiritual jurisdiction in Sicily	II 1523
1210 Jun. 25.	Restore the Chancellor to favour	III 280
1216 May 14.	<i>"In Romanum Imperium electus"</i>	P 5110

LETTERS TO THE BASILEUS ALEXIOS III ANGELOS OF BYZANTION

1198 Aug. 15.	Unity of Christendom	I 325
1199 Nov. 13.	<i>Imperialis excellentie</i> ²¹⁰	I 760

²⁰⁸ Cf. p. 50.²⁰⁹ Extract from Bull of Excommunication:—

"Beneficiorum nostrorum ingratus et promissionum oblitus suarum maligne persecutur regem Sicilie orphanum et pupillum apostolice protectioni relictum."—Bullarium Magnum.

Extract from the Breve *"Sicut ea quae"* to the Bishop of Turin, Apr. 5, 1212:—

"Otto non iam nominandus Imperator sed impius persecutor."

²¹⁰ Cf. p. 59.

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1200 Dec.	Do not be arrogant ²¹¹	P 1222
1201 Apr.	Do not interfere with King Amaury of Cyprus	P 1332
1202 Nov. 16.	Beware of danger from the Crusade	I 1123

LETTER TO THE BASILEUS ALEXIOS IIII ANGELOS

1204 Feb. 7.	Be loyal to the See of Peter	II 259
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LETTER TO THE BASILEUS THEODOROS I LASKARIS

1208 Mar. 17.	Acknowledge Henry of Constantinople as your Emperor and cease from schism	II 1372
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LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR BALDWIN I OF ROMANIA

1204 Nov. 7.	Constitution of the new empire	II 454
1205 Jan. 21.	Appointment of Morosini as Patriarch	II 517
Feb. 8.	Respect Church property	II 521
May 15.	Commendation of new Legate	II 622

LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR HENRY OF ROMANIA

1205 Aug. 16.	Make peace with Bulgaria ²¹²	II 710
1208 Mar. 7.	Persuade the Greeks to recognise the Latin Patriarch	II 1352
Mar. 11.	Imperial chapels taken under protection	II 1364
Mar. 26.	Permission to exact allegiance from prelates for the temporalities of their sees	II 1363
1210 Jul. 10.	Pay tithes	III 296
1211 Oct. 5.	Restore Sition near Ravennika to the Templars	III 427
1212 May 22.	Restore monastic lands and respect Church property	III 612
May 23.	Do not cherish persons excommunicate for destroying churches	III 596
1213 Aug. 30.	Commission for the new Legate Pelagius, Cardinal Bishop of Albano	III 901

²¹¹ "Ad firmamentum igitur coeli fecit Deus duo magna luminaria id est duas magnas instituit dignitates quae sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestat. . . . Quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia."

²¹² This letter was written to him as Regent.

LETTERS TO KING IMRE OF HUNGARY²¹³

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE
1198 Dec. 22.	Make Croats pay tithes to the Archbishop of Kolocz	I 460
1199 June 21.	Make reparation for violence to a Bishop ²¹⁴	I 643
1201 Aug.	You must pay tithes	P 1458
1203 Feb. 28.	Consent to King's proposals anent crusade Sep. 15. Why have you hindered the Legate to Bulgaria?	II 15 II 417
Oct. 4.	Congratulations on more reasonable behaviour to the Legate	II 427
Nov. 5.	Allot a sufficient sum of money to your brother Endre	II 169

LETTERS TO KING ENDRE II OF HUNGARY²¹⁵

1203 Nov. 5.	Confirmation of agreement with his brother King Imre	II 893
1205 Apr. 25.	The Regency	P 2017
Jun. 26.	The Regency	P 2017
Jul. 27.	We recognize you as King, but make restitution to the Bishops who have been robbed	II 702
1206 Jun. 7.	Confirmation of Berthold the Queen's cousin as Archbishop of Kolocz	II 893
1207 Apr. 5.	Church patronage	II 1132
1209 Jan. 21.	Bishopric of Bamberg	II 1534
Nov. 9.	Crusade	I 1100
1212 Jul. 15.	Quarrel between Archbishops John of Gran and Berthold of Kolocz	III 447
1212 Feb. 12.	The same	III 515

LETTERS TO KING DON ALFONSO VIII OF CASTILE

1203 Jun. 5.	Incestuous (!) marriage of his daughter Berengère to her first cousin once removed, King Don Alfonso VIII of Leon	II 82
Jun. 18.	Recommending an abbot	II 99

²¹³ King Imre is called "Heinrich," "Emmich" and "Emericus."

²¹⁴ "The bishop has been thrown violently down the steps of his church of which the treasury has been ransacked, the reliquaries and vessels profaned and dispersed, and the temporalities confiscated."

²¹⁵ The first three letters mentioned are addressed to this prince as Duke Andrew of Hungary.

APPENDIX VI

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1205 May 5.	Do not make Jews and Moors pay tithes .	II 616
1211 Feb. 22.	Be faithful to the Church	III 380
1212 Feb. 4.	Assistance for the Moorish war	III 513
	Oct. 26. Congratulations on victory of Navas de Tolosa	III 703
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to Lateran Council	P 4706

LETTERS TO KING EN PEYRE II OF ARAGON

1199 Apr. 5.	Do not debase your coinage	I 558
1204 Feb. 14.	Morocco-Malorca war	II 265
	Nov. <i>Cum quanta gloria</i> ²¹⁶	
1205 Mar. 12.	Ecclesiastical affairs	II 565
	Jun. 16. Privilegia, promises about Malorca, confiscate property of heretics	II 665
1206 Jun. 9.	Grant of heretics' lands	II 915
	Jun. 17. Permission for coronation of successors at Zaragoza	II 915
1208 Feb. 26.	Marriage of his sister to King Frederick .	II 1342
	Aug. The same, her dowry	II 1449
1209 Nov. 11.	Extripation of heresy	III 154
1211 Apr. 12.	Faculty to revoke donations accorded during his minority	III 404
1213 Jan. 19.	Divorce of Queen Marie de Montpellier .	P 4657
	Apr. 19. Invitation to Lateran Council	P 4706
	Jun. 1. Heresy in the Toulousain	III 489

LETTERS TO KING DON SANCHO VII OF NAVARRE

1198 May 29.	Hand over to King Richard the territorial part of Berengère's dowry, viz. St. Jean Pied du Port and Roccabruna	I 182
1199 Feb. 11.	Make peace with Aragon	I 509
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706

LETTERS TO KING DOM SANCHO I OF PORTUGAL

1198 Dec. 9.	Financial obligations	I 424
1210 May 13.	Concordat confirmed	III 272

²¹⁶ Extract from the Bull *Cum quanta gloria* :—

“Ut autem dilectionis affectum quem ad tuam habemus personam per exhibitionem operis evidentius monstratemus regalia insignia universa mantum videlicet colobium sceptrum et pomum coronam et mitram ad opus dum non minus pretiosa quam speciosa fecimus preparari et ea liberaliter tibi donavimus in signum gratie specialis.”—Bullarium Magnum.

APPENDIX VI

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DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1211 Feb. 23.	Restore Church property	III 383
May 27.	Partial confirmation of Will	III 423

LETTER TO KING DOM AFFONSO II OF PORTUGAL

1212 Apr. 16.	Portugal taken under Apostolic protection	III 56
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LETTERS TO KING KNUT VI OF DENMARK

1198 Oct. 6.	Defend the Church	I 363
Oct. 31.	Ingebiorg	I 363
1200 Oct. 22.	Ingebiorg	I 883

LETTERS TO KING VALDIMAR II OF DENMARK

1203 Dec. 5.	Bishop Valdimar	II 194
Dec. 12.	Help Otto in Germany	III 1106
Dec. 18.	The Empire	III 1103
1206 Jan. 20.	Bishop Valdimar	II 771
1207 Apr. 2.	Bishop Valdimar	II 1134
1208 Mar.	Bishop Valdimar	II 1346
1209 Oct. 31.	Extirpate pagans	III 116
1210 May 7.	Crusade	III 258
1216 May 14.	Make peace with the Elect-Emperor Frederick	P 5110

LETTER TO KING SVERKER II OF SWEDEN

1206 Jan. 12.	We object to the judgment of clerks in lay courts	P 2650
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LETTER TO KING ERIK X OF SWEDEN

1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
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LETTERS TO KING KALOVAN OF BULGARIA

1202 Nov. 27.	We grant to you the title of King	I 1113
1203 Sep. 10.	Make peace with Serbia	II 158
1204 Feb. 25.	Present of a crown	II 277

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1205 Aug. 16.	Please release the Emperor Baldwin.	P 2569
1207 May 25.	Make peace with Romania ²⁷	II 1162

LETTERS TO KING LEVON II OF ARMENIA

1199 Nov. 25.	Union of the Churches	I 779
Dec. 17.	Fight the Saracens	I 813
Dec. 30.	Restore Gaston to the Templars	I 819
1202 June 1.	Taken under Pontifical protection	I 1007
1205 Jan. 18.	Compensate Templars for damage you have done	II 504
Mar. 5.	Abbot of Mount Tabor	II 557
1213 Feb. 28.	Do penance in sackcloth and ashes before the Patriarch of Antioch	III 784
Mar. 15.	Absolution from excommunication	
1216 Jan.	Keep the peace with Jerusalem Antioch, and Cyprus	P 5179

LETTERS TO KING AMAURY II OF JERUSALEM

1198 Dec. 2.	Kingdom taken under protection	I 417
Dec. 19.	Good advice	I 454
1203 Aug. 12.	Protect the Church in Tyre	II 148

²⁷ The Lord Innocent wrote also a letter each to the Grand Jupan of Serbia: undated 1198-9, and to the "King of Dalmatia and Dioclea," same time.* The "King of Dalmatia and Dioclea" seems to have been a vassal prince of the Grand Jupan of Serbia, and was certainly neither a "king" nor "of Dalmatia." There is also another letter to Wulco Meganippanus of Serbia. No prince of this name existed; the contemporary Jupan being Stefan Vencian Pruvenceni Nemanyic I, the letter is dated 23 Mar. 1203.

* Copies of the letter to "Wulcan king of Dalmatia and Dioclea" were sent in duplicate to the Grand Jupan of Serbia and his wife, to the Queen of Dalmatia and to the Abp. of Dioclea. The king of Dalmatia replied—

"Beatissimo atque sanctissimo Patri et Domino Innocentio Dei gratia Sacro-sante Romane ecclesie summo pontifici et universali pape," and placed his kingdom under apostolic protection, acknowledging the Papal Supremacy. In the letter the Pope is referred to as "Your Paternity" and "Your Beatitude." It is doubtful whether King Wulcan was in a position thus to recommend his dominion without the expressed permission of his overlord.

The Grand Jupan (Magnus Iuppanus totius Servie) replied, "Gratulamur itaque magne sanctitati vestre quia non tradidistis nos in oblivionem filios tuos sed recordatus es de nobis. Nos autem semper consideramus in vestigia sancte Romane ecclesie sicut bone memorie pater meus et preceptum sancte Romane ecclesie semper custodire."

Regesta, Vol. I, No. dxiij, Page cxxxiiij, and No. clxv, Anno II, Page clxxvi, —both sheets.

LETTERS TO KING JEAN DE BRIENNE OF JERUSALEM

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1211 May 19.	Observe the excommunication of King Levon	III 432
1213 Jan. 9.	Consolation for the death of his Queen .	III 738
1216 Jan.	Keep the peace with Armenia and Cyprus	P 5179

LETTERS TO KING HUGH I DE LUSIGNAN OF CYPRUS

1213 Jan. 7.	Make peace with Christians	III 736
Jan. 13.	Do not interfere with the canons of Nikosia	III 743
Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council . . .	P 4706
1216 Jan.	Keep the peace with Jerusalem and Armenia	P 5179

LETTER TO THE SULTAN SEIF-ED-DIN

1213 Apr. 19.	Restore Jerusalem to the Christians . . .	III 831
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LETTER TO THE SULTAN OF ALEPPO

1211 Jun. 7.	Please protect the persecuted Patriarch from the Prince of Antioch . . .	III 434
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LETTERS TO KING BONIFACE OF THESSALONIKA

1203 Jun. 20.	Do not plunder the Greeks	II 106
1204 Feb. 7.	Go to the Holy Land	P 2123
Nov. 13.	"Legimus in Daniele" ²¹⁸	
1205 May 15.	Respect Church property	I 625
Sep. 7.	Captivity of the Emperor Baldwin	II 710
Sep. 7.	The Queen	II 714
1206 Nov. 27.	Remain faithful to the Holy See	II 1028

LETTERS TO KING PRZEMYSŁ OTTOKAR I OF BOHEMIA

1201 Mar. 1.	Why ask Philip of Swabia for the title of King?	III 1046
1204 Apr. 15.	Privilegia and Imperial affairs	II 339
Apr. 21.	Refusal of a primacy for Bohemia	II 357
1208 Aug.	Obey Otto	III 1149
Dec. 12.	Friendship	III 1160

²¹⁸ Extract from the Breve *Legimus in Daniele* :—

"Ad defendendum et retinendum constantinopolitanum imperium per cuius subventionis auxilium Terra Sancta facilius poterit de paganorum manibus liberari."

APPENDIX VI

LETTERS TO THE DOGE ENRICO DANDOLO OF VENICE

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1198 Dec. 3.	Do not trade in munitions of war with the Saracens	I 492
1201 Sep.	Do not quarrel with the canons of Gradisca	P 1476
1204 Feb. 25.	Be penitent for the way you sinned at Zara	II 301
1205 Jan. 29.	Confirmation of treaties and Absolution	P 2399
	Feb. 8. Respect Church property	P 2406

LETTERS TO THE DOGE PIETRO ZIANI OF VENICE

1206 Aug. 5.	Repentance and reconciliation	II 957
1209 Jul. 15.	Pay for damage to Church property	III 88
1213 Jun. 4.	Vow of alms for Holy Land	III 830
1214 Feb. 15.	Help isolated crusaders to get to Holy Land	III 963

LETTERS TO THE GRANDMASTERS OF THE TEMPLE

Gilbert Horal

1199 Jan. 2.	Private disputes	I 467
Jun. 13.	Specification of financial obligations	I 641
Sep.	Distribute alms sent to the Holy Land	I 737
1200 Mar. 30.	Financial obligations	P 975

Philippe de Plaissies

1202 Apr. 22.	Restore to King Frederick certain lands unjustly acquired in continental Sicily	I 973
1206 Mar. 12.	Confirmation of treaty	I 832
Apr. 10.	Appointment of preceptors	II 861
1207 Sep. 13.	Misbehaviour about services during interdicts	II 1217
Oct. 31.	Confirmation of donation of Satalia	II 1019

Guillaume de Chartres

1210 Sep. 17.	Confirmation of grants near Thebes	I 329
1212 Feb. 17.	Ecclesiastical discipline is superior to the privileges of the Order	P 4384
Jun. 23.	Templars may have absolution from Bishops for laying violent hands on clerks	III 652
1213 Jan. 8.	Help the King of Jerusalem	III 737
Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
1214 May 15.	Dispute about monastic lands bought by Order	III 230
1216 Feb. 18.	Confirmation of position in the East	P 5078

LETTERS TO GRANDMASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN

Geoffrey Lerat

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1198 Nov. 20.	Help Cyprus	P 428
Dec.	Restore the three castles which you have stolen from the Church in Tripoli	I 64
1199 Feb. 8.	Do not quarrel with Templars	I 521
Sep.	Distribute alms sent to Holy Land	I 973
1206 Mar. 12.	Confirmation of treaty	I 832
Apr. 24.	Grant of land in Moravia	IIII 155

Guerin de Montaigu

1210 Aug. 3.	Confirmation of grant of castles from Levon II	III 305
1212 Feb. 17.	Submit to ecclesiastical discipline	P 4384
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706

LETTERS TO THE GRANDMASTERS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

Hermann Bartt

1209 Jun. 27.	Confirmation in possessions and protection	P 3755
1210 Aug. 27.	Do not wear white palls	III 312

Hermann von Salza

1211 Jul. 28.	Confirmation of Rule	P 4289
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
Dec. 28.	Confirmation of privileges	III 945
1214 Feb. 14.	Confirmation of gift of castle of Amudain by Levon II	P 4901
1216 Feb. 18.	Confirmation of privileges	P 5078

LETTERS TO THE GRANDMASTER OF THE ORDER OF CHRIST

Volkwin von Winterstadt

1212 Jan. 25.	Proposed bishopric in conquered territory	III 509
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
Oct. 31.	On the whole you have done well, but do not interfere with Bishops	III 921

LETTERS TO THE GRANDMASTERS OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO

Sancho Rodriguez

1206 Mar. 12.	Confirmation of Treaty	P 3214
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Pedro Arias

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1210 Mar. 8.	Grant of privileges	III 205

Pedro Gonsales

1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
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LETTERS TO THE GRANDMASTERS OF THE ORDER OF CALATRAVA

Martin Martines

1201 Jun.	Confirmation of privileges	P 1388
1205 Jul. 5.	Stir up the King of Aragon against the Moors	II 666

Rodrigo Garcias

1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
1214 May 20.	Confirmation of Rule	P 4925

LETTER TO THE GRANDMASTER OF THE ORDER OF SAN JULIAN DEL PEREIRO

Nuno Fernandez

1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706
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LETTERS TO THE PATRIARCHS OF BYZANTION (ORTHODOX)

Georgios II Xiphilin

1198 Aug. 15.	Christian unity	I 327
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Ioannes X Kamtera

1199 Nov. 12.	Christian unity	I 758
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LETTERS TO THE PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (LATIN)

Tommaso Morosini

1205 Mar. 30.	Recognition and Pall	P 2459
Nov. 19.	Consecrate the Elect-Archbishop of Patras	II 727
1206 Jun. 21.	No longer consider yourself bound by your oath for the bestowal of patronage only on Venetians	II 947
Jul. 5.	Exact compensation from those who damage Church property	II 967
Aug. 25.	To provide for the Legate institute him as a canon of Saint Sophia	II 975
1207 Jan. 13.	Excommunicate Venetians who steal eikons	II 1077

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1207 Apr. 13.	Regulate the behaviour of the Monks of Saint George	P 3083
Sep. 12.	Threaten the Emperor with censures	II 1216
1208 Mar. 8.	Do not reconsecrate Orthodox bishops who have been reconciled to Rome	II 1353
Apr. 25.	See to it that fewer excesses be committed in future under your authority	II 1387
Apr. 26.	Make foreign clerks in Constantinople obey you	II 1388
1209 Jul. 10.	Your clergy need discipline. Give it to them	III 83
Nov. 2.	Remain on good terms with the Emperor	III 147
Nov. 23.	You may exact tithes from the Orthodox in order to ease your financial difficulties	III 162
1210 Mar. 15.	Take care to ordain only proper people	III 217

Gervasio

1216 Jan.	Discipline your clergy	P 5193
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LETTERS TO LATIN PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM

Monaco

1198 Dec. 23.	He is rebuked for inefficiency, evil-speaking and bad behaviour, and is enjoined to cease from slandering the bishop (sic) of Tyre	I 477
1199 Jan. 3.	Settle the dispute with Antioch about Tyre	I 466
Sep.	Distribute aims sent to the Holy Land ²¹⁹	I 737
Dec. 15.	Suspend your unjust excommunication of the Templars	I 816
1200 Jan. 5.	Do not meddle with the Order of the Holy Sepulchre	II 39

Albert II. (d. 14 Sep. 1213)

1206 Mar. 29.	Betrothal of King Amaury's children	II 829
1207 Jan. 31.	Stop your clergy from wearing lay clothes	II 1083
1208 Feb. 13.	Make the Count of Tripoli release the Patriarch of Antioch	II 1321
Mar. 4.	Excommunicate the Count of Tripoli if he has further dealings with the Orthodox Patriarch	II 1346

²¹⁹ The Grandmasters of the Temple and the Hospital were appointed codistributors apparently in order to ensure that a distribution should take place, which (taking into the consideration the character of His Blessedness) was a not unnecessary precaution.

APPENDIX VI

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1208 Jul.	9. Reappointment as Legate for four years	II 1427
1209 Mar.	5. Arbitrate between the King of Armenia and the Templars	III 18
1210 Aug. 27.	Keep the peace between the Grandmasters	II 471
1211 May 17.	Warn the King of Jerusalem to observe strictly the excommunication of the King of Armenia	III 430
Sep. 24.	Tell King Hugh of Cyprus to take the Count of Montbeliard, Constable of Jerusalem, into favour	III 466
1212 Jan. 13.	Excite the Grandmasters to liberate the Christian captives at Alexandria	III 507
1213 Jan.	9. Keep the people faithful to King Jean and his daughter (the new Queen)	III 738
Mar. 15.	Absolve the King of Armenia: but take very stern measures with the Count of Tripoli	III 792
Jul. 25.	Rebuke the Templars for the excessive exercise of their privilege of sanctuary	III 890

Radulf

1215 Feb. 20.	The prohibited marriage of Erard de Brienne	III 973
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LETTERS TO THE LATIN PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH²²⁰*Pietro (I of Capua)*

1198 Mar. 17.	Suspended for abuse of powers	I 45
Dec. 31.	Restored to office	I 460
1200 Apr. 22.	Why have you not paid your visit to The Threshold of The Apostles?	II 864

Pietro (II of Capua)

1211 May 18.	Make all natives and foreigners respect the excommunication of the King of Armenia	III 431
Sep. 24.	Marriage of the King of Cyprus' children	III 466

²²⁰ The numeration of the Latin Patriarchs of Antioch is confusing. Saint Peter strictly speaking was Peter I, then a certain Peter the Fuller, 465-490, an Arian who was twice deposed, was undoubtedly Peter II, hence Peter (I of Capua, the uncle) ought to be Peter III, and Peter (II of Capua, the nephew) ought to be Peter IIII, but they are never so designated.

LETTERS TO THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA

Nicolas

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1201 Jul.	Strengthen your suffragans in the Faith	P 1430
1209 Mar. 23.	Exhort the Christian prisoners to patience	III 23
1212 Jan. 13.	The same	III 505

LETTERS TO THE KATHOLIKOS OF ARMENIA

Gregorios

1199 Nov. 12.	Congratulations on becoming a Uniat	I 776
1202 Jun.	I. Union of the Churches	I 1010

LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

Hubert Walter

1202 Feb.	Translation of the body of Saint Thomas	P 1612
May 31.	Excommunicate the King unless he is kinder to the Archbishop of Dublin, for We have heard " <i>miserabilem clamorem venerabilis</i> " : also you may have three more archdeacons in your archdiocese	II 62
1204 Dec. 16.	Commission for Berengère's dowry	II 475
	<i>Sedes vacat 1205-1207.</i>	

Stephen Langton

1207 Jun. 17.	Nomination " <i>utriusque Cantuariensis ecclesie quassatis electis</i> "	
1209 Jan. 12.	Absolve Fulk de Cantilupe from excommunication inflicted for outraging clerks	P 3603
1212 Mar.	The coronation of John's successors will depend on his behaviour	III 781
1213 onward	Very many letters.	

LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF COLN

Adolf I

1201 Jan. 5.	Introducing Legates	III 1031
Mar. 1.	Recognize Otto as Elect-Emperor	III 1051
1202 Jan.	Warned against Philip of Swabia	III 1055
Dec.	Affairs of The Empire	III 1058
1204 Apr. 10.	See that excommunications are observed	II 330
1205 Mar. 13.	Excommunication and deposition	III 1119

APPENDIX VI

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1206 Jun. 24.	Regrets and condolences on above . . .	II 911
1208 Oct. 23.	Reinstatement regrettfully and kindly refused	III 1155
1209 Nov. 7.	Pension of 250 marks accorded	III 142
1210 Nov. 12.	Permission to say mass episcopally vested and to confer minor orders. No pall is to be worn	III 346

LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO

Rodrigo

1201 May	Excommunicate Alfonso King of Leon for marrying Berengaria to Alfonso King of Castile	P 1370
1204 Jun. 24.	Absolve him	II 373
1206 Jan. 28.	Make the King of Castile restore the two castles and three farms which he has stolen from the Hospitallers	II 782
1210 Mar. 4.	Accords primacy of all Spain to see	III 375

LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF LUND

Andreas

1204 Nov. 20.	Please send the enclosed pall to the Archbishop of Upsala to replace the one he has burned	II 426
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LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ATHENS

Berard

1206 Nov. 27.	Have the same jurisdiction as your predecessors	I 1031
1208 Jul. 10.	Confirmation of property and protection . .	I 1432
Oct. 4.	Tell Guillaume de Larse not to plunder churches in the Larissa country ²²¹ . . .	II 1468
Oct. 10.	Ask the Hospitallers to put pressure on the local Lords to make them pay their tithes	II 1467
1209 Jan. 23.	Pontifical protection for person and see . .	II 1549
Jan. 24.	Compel your canons to reside	II 1551
Feb. 13.	Confirmation of privileges	II 1559

²²¹ This Guillaume, Lord of Armyre, was told to surrender his loot to the Archbishop of Larissa in a Letter 7 Jul. 1210.

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1210 Mar. 4.	Surrender of Korinth and conversion of the Orthodox Archbishop	III 201
Mar. 9.	Compel lay rectors to maintain clerical vicars	III 216

LETTERS TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Peter

1205 Oct. 27.	Reform your diocese, punish clerks who are usurers and adulterers <i>et publice tenent focarias</i> and otherwise sin against public morality	II 723
1215 Aug. 30.	Excommunicate the Barons. And the Great Ban is to be in force until the Archbishop of Canterbury takes it off	P 4992

LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH

John de Gray

1203 June 20.	Permission to depose married clerks from their benefices	II 110
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LETTERS TO THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND COLLECTIVELY

1205 Dec. 29.	We have been cheated of large sums of Peter's Pence from England. Please see about it	II 754
Dec. 30.	Do not excommunicate rashly	II 754
1207 Aug. 25.	Persuade the King to accept Langton . .	II 1208
Nov. 19.	Interdict England	II 1255
1209 Feb. 21.	Stop the Cistercians from saying mass publicly and do not let them ring bells . .	II 1563
1215 Nov. 4.	Excommunication of the Barons	P 4993

LETTER TO QUEEN AGNES OF FRANCE

1204 Apr. 24.	You may be buried at Pontigny	III 108
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LETTERS TO QUEEN MARIA OF THESSALONIKA

1205 Aug. 16.	Congratulations on embracing Romanism . .	I 714
1210 Mar. 30.	Confirmation of marriage settlements . .	III 226

APPENDIX VI

LETTERS TO QUEEN INGEBIORG OF FRANCE

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1200 Mar.	Consolation	P 989
Jul.	Consolation	P 1100
Oct. 22.	Assurances of friendship	I 881
1205 Jul. 5.	Consolation	II 680
1207 Mar. 7.	Protection	II 1105
1210 Mar. 7.	Consolation	III 258

LETTER TO QUEEN ADELA OF BOHEMIA

1210 Apr. 13.	Divorce	III 238
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LETTER TO QUEEN MARIA, WIFE OF PHILIP OF SWABIA

1208 Feb. 20.	Bishop Valdimar	II 1315
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LETTERS TO BERTHOLD DUKE OF ZAHRINGEN

1201 Mar. 1.	Recognition of Otto	III 1045
1202 Mar. 1.	Imperial affairs	III 1065
1208 Aug.	Obey Otto	III 1149
Dec. 5.	Support Otto	III 1158

LETTERS TO HENRY DUKE OF BRABANT

1202 Mar.	Confirmation of dispensation for the marriage of his daughter to Otto	III 1073
1203 Dec. 12.	The same reconfirmed	III 1104
1204 Oct. 27.	Why do you delay Otto's marriage with your daughter? You have a secret agreement with Philip of Swabia who wishes her to marry his nephew Frederick of Sicily	III 1114

LETTERS TO PHILIP DUKE OF SWABIA

1200 May	Definition of Pontifical position	III 1030
1207 Nov. 1.	Our blessing, make peace in The Empire	III 1129

LETTER TO OTTO MARKGRAF OF BRANDENBURG

1200 May	Love your wife, honour your clergy, give up tournaments and compel converts to abandon pagan practices	P 1042
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LETTERS TO THE DUKES OF AUSTRIA

Frederick

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1198 May 30.	Refund your share of King Richard's ransom	I 206
	<i>Leopold VI</i>	
1204 Jan. 7.	Matrimonial disappointments	II 225
1208 Feb. 25.	Crusade!	II 1339
1209 Nov. 13.	Bishopric of Bamberg	III 151

LETTERS TO GEOFFREY PRINCE OF ACHAIA

1210 Nov. 5.	Help the Archbishop of Patras against pirates	III 342
1212 Apr. 7.	Restore stolen Church property at Andavida	III 560
May 18.	Restore stolen Church property at Korinth	III 624

LETTERS TO OTHON DE LA ROCHE MEGASKYR OF ATHENS

1208 Jul. 14.	Do not make illegal exactions from the clergy	I 1435
1209 Jan. 23.	Respect Church property	II 1549
1212 Apr. 7.	Restore Church property	III 590
1216 Jan. 12.	Gift of the castle of Livadia to the Church	P 5052

LETTERS TO BALMO CONSTABLE OF THESSALONIKA

1208 Jul. 14.	Restore Church property	I 1434
1209 Jan. 24.	As you have restored Church property pay tithes	II 1551

LETTERS TO THE KING OF CONNAUGHT²²³

1200 Sep.	Respect the rights of fugitives in sanctuary	I 875
Dec.	Do not abuse Our concessions to you	P 1209
1213 Apr. 19.	Invitation to the Lateran Council	P 4706

LETTERS TO SIMON DE MONTFORT

1206 Jul. 2.	Compensation for Archbishop of Narbonne	P 2835
1209 Nov. 12.	Report progress, and Confirmation in Heretics' Lands	III 151
1210 Jun. 28.	Grant of Albi	III 282

²²³ His name appears to have been Cathal Crobhdearg mac Toird helbhach.

DATE.	SUBJECT.	REFERENCE.
1210 Dec. 17.	Leave to raise a house-tax to finance Crusade	III 357
1212 Sep. 11.	Thanks for 1000 marks in silver	III 693
1213 Jan. 15.	Homage to En Peyre of Aragon for Car- cassonne	III 743
Jun. 1.	Restitution of county of Foix	III 489
1214 Jan. 23.	Set free En Peyre's son	III 959
1215 Apr. 2.	Concerning conquered territory	P 4967
Dec. 14.	Decision of Lateran Council on same	P 5011

LETTERS TO RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE

1201 Dec.	Please take measures against heretics	P 1550
1207 May 29.	Cease from persecuting the Church. "You are an impious and barbarous tyrant, you favour heresy, and plunder the re- ligious, and you oppress and starve the Church".	II 1166
1209 Jul. 27.	Good behaviour	III 100
1210 Jan. 23.	Prosecute heretics	III 173
Dec. 17.	Do keep to your promise to suppress the heresy	III 356
1215 Dec. 14.	Decision of Lateran Council	P 5012
1208 Mar. 10.	Raymond's vassals were released from fealty to him and confirmed in their lands which they had held of him	II 1354
1210 Dec. 17.	A Breve urges the Count of Foix and the Viscount of Bearn to extirpate Heresy	P 4148

LETTERS TO THE BISHOPS OF THE SOUTH OF FRANCE

1204 May 31.	Assist the legates ²²⁰	P 2230
1209 Feb. 3.	To proceed against Heretics in general. The Letter to the Bishops was to be fastened to Church doors, and read aloud as an invitation and a command to "all men" to proceed against the Heretics	II 1545

²²⁰ On May 31, 1204, the Lord Innocent nominated Arnould Amaury, Cistercian Abbot of Citeaux, the Legate Pierre de Castelnau and Cardinal Raoul d' Arras to form a Commission of Inquisition.

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